

VOLUME 16 • NO. 11 1 9 9 3

Thematic Issue

# Historic Transportation Corridors

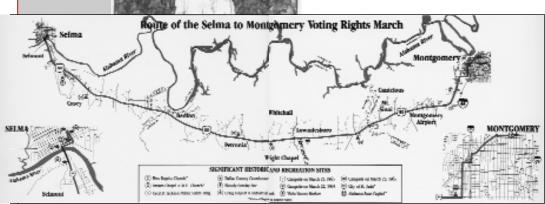
### A New and Dynamic Element of Heritage Preservation

E. Blaine Cliver

hat is a transportation corridor, and what makes such a corridor historic? To begin to answer these questions the National Park Service, together with Northwestern State University of Louisiana and US/ICOMOS, held a symposium in Natchitoches, Louisiana, at the end of 1992. This symposium brought together an international group of experts to explore these questions, among others, and the results of the symposium are published in this issue of *CRM*.

(Cliver—continued on page 8)







Cultural Resources Management Information for Parks, Federal Agencies, Indian Tribes, States, Local Governments and the Private Sector



U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service Cultural Resources







#### **VOLUME 16 • NO. 11** ISSN 1068-4999

Published by the National Park Service to promote and maintain high standards for preserving and managing cultural resources.

Director

Roger G. Kennedy

Associate Director Jerry L. Rogers

Editor

Ronald M. Greenberg

Production Manager Karlota M. Koester

Issue Consultant Marilou Reilly

Advisors

David Andrews Editor, NPS

Joan Bacharach

Randall J. Biallas Historical Architect, NPS

John A. Burns Architect, NPS

Harry A. Butowsky Historian, NPS

Pratt Cassity
Executive Director,
National Alliance of
Preservation Commissions

Muriel Crespi Cultural Anthropologist, NPS

Craig W. Davis Archeologist, NPS

Mark R. Edwards
Deputy State Historic
Preservation Officer,
Maryland

Bruce W. Fry
Chief of Research Publications
National Historic Sites
Canadian Parks Service

John Hnedak Architectural Historian, NPS

H. Ward Jandl Architectural Historian, NPS

> Roger E. Kelly Archeologist, NPS

Antoinette J. Lee Historian, NPS

John Poppeliers International Liaison Officer for Cultural Resources, NPS

Brit Allan Storey Historian, Bureau of Reclamation Federal Preservation Forum

Contributing Editors

Stephen A. Morris Certified Local Governments (CLG) Coordinator, NPS

Bruce Craig Cultural Resources Coordinator National Parks and Conservation Association

Consultants

Michael G. Schene Historian, NPS

Kay D. Weeks Technical Writer-Editor, NPS

# Contents

A New and Dynamic Element of Heritage Preservation E. Blaine Cliver	l
Northwestern State University of Louisiana: Message from the President Robert A. Alost	3
US/ICOMOS and the Conference on Transportation Corridors Terry B. Morton	4
The Challenges of Historic Corridors	5
Reconnecting People with Place	9
Techniques of Identifying and Evaluating Corridors and Trails Timothy R. Nowak	12
Identifying and Evaluating Historic Corridors and Trails  Jere L. Krakow	14
Route 66 Revisited Teri A. Cleeland	15
The Oregon-California Trails	19
Perspectives on Route 66	21
Transportation History and the Louisiana Comprehensive Plan Jonathan Fricker	24
HABS/HAER Documents Automotive Corridors	26
<b>Listed in the National Register of Historic Places</b> Beth L. Savage	28
Cultural Diversity and Place Preservation	31
Corridors as Cultural Landscapes—Selma to Montgomery National Trail Barbara Tagger	34
The Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail  Donald T. Garate	36
Valuing Cultural Diversity is Cultural Validation	39
World Heritage Sites—A Legacy for All Terry B. Morton	41
Hudson River Valley Greenway  David S. Sampson	45
Interpretation: A Road to Creative Enlightenment	47
The National Road: A Story with Many Facets—A Road with Many Resources Linda Kelly	50
Livable Communities and Historic Transportation Corridors  Peter H. Brink	52
Report of Working Groups	54
Program	56
Sand articles naves items and correspondence to the Editor CPM (400) ILS Department of the Interior	

Send articles, news items, and correspondence to the Editor, CRM (400), U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; (202-343-3395).

# Northwestern State University of Louisiana

### Message from President Robert A. Alost

he International Training Conference on Historic Transportation Corridors was a resounding success because of the expertise of the individuals on the program and the participation in the conference by numerous historians, preservationists, cultural resource management professionals, and others who are interested in various aspects of cultural landscapes.

It was also a significant moment in the history of Northwestern State University, because the conference was the first activity at NSU related to the designation of the campus as the site for the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training.

Northwestern will become a focal point for historic preservation conferences and training sessions when the center is established on the campus during this academic year, and the meeting on historic transportation corridors served as a meaningful introduction for NSU into the realm of national and international preservation endeavors.

Participants in the International Training Conference on Historic Transportation Corridors were obviously impressed with the rich history of Northwestern, Natchitoches, and the Cane River region in which the university and community are located.

Natchitoches, which was established four years before New Orleans was founded, is the oldest permanent settlement in the Louisiana Purchase Territory. Northwestern was established in 1884, and the campus is a blend of the charm and character of NSU's 19th century beginnings and the modern facilities that reflect the school's unprecedented growth and progress in recent years.

Northwestern's historic significance is enhanced by its location near El Camino Real, which was the major East-West corridor for Native Americans and early explorers and settlers in the South and Southwest. The corridor, which runs from Natchitoches to Mexico City, was for years the major link between Spanish territories in the Southwest and settlements to the East.

The Historic Transportation Corridors Conference was a major step in the identification, evaluation, protection, and preservation of such historic corridors as El Camino Real and associated sites that make up the nation's important cultural landscapes.

Historic preservation has long been a compelling priority in Natchitoches and at Northwestern. Downtown Natchitoches has been designated as one of only two National Historic Landmark Districts in Louisiana. The other is the French Quarter in New Orleans. The "Normal Hill" area of the NSU campus has also been designated as a National Historic Site.

In addition, the picturesque Cane River Country of Natchitoches Parish that includes historic plantation homes and many of the diverse cultures that have been intertwined to make the region one of the most unique in the nation is being considered for national park status.

Those diverse cultures are reflected in the architecture, customs, cuisine, music, and other structures, sites, and ways of life that make Natchitoches Parish a living laboratory for historians and participants in such programs as the Historic Transportation Corridors Conference.

That conference helped lay the groundwork for the ambitious programs that will be established at the university through the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training. Funding is forthcoming for the restoration of a historic old gymnasium on the campus as the site for the center, which will be at the cutting edge of national efforts to identify, evaluate, and preserve our cherished prehistoric and historic resources.

The papers presented at the Historic Transportation Corridors Conference were informative and provocative, and organizations and individuals who are interested and involved in efforts to preserve historic corridors and other cultural landscapes will appreciate the materials that are being published in this issue of *CRM*.

All of us at Northwestern were proud that the university was selected as the site for the Historic Transportation Corridors Conference, and we look forward to the university's participation in future historic preservation projects and programs.

As the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training takes shape on the campus, we invite you to visit NSU and Natchitoches to share with us your experience and expertise in preservation matters and to visit the sites and structures that have brought this region to the forefront in national historic preservation activities.



# US/ICOMOS and the Conference on Transportation Corridors as Cultural Landscapes

**Terry B. Morton** 

he conference held in Natchitoches, LA., at Northwestern State University was a milestone in awakening the U.S. consciousness to the fact that out there in the United States and in the world are cultural landscapes, including transportation corridors. They should be studied and evaluated for their significance in the United States and the world's cultural heritage. It was also a wonderful opportunity to get acquainted with

the university and the town where the newly created National Center for Preservation Technology and Training would be located. Most of us prior to this occasion had never been to this charming historic Southern river town.

We discovered that cultural landscapes had been studied in October 1992 under the aegis of UNESCO. The workgroup found that the subject deserved recognition that could not properly be allowed under the World Heritage Convention operational guidelines. It was reported that suggestions to alter the operational guidelines to accommodate this subject had been put forward by the French as early as 1984.

The 1992 representatives to the study came from UNESCO, ICOMOS, IUCN, IFLA and experts from eight countries (Australia, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, New Zealand, Sri Lanka and the United Kingdom). They represent-

ed various disciplines, including archaeology, history, landscape ecology, landscape architecture and planning.

Three principal forms of cultural landscape were identified: those that were designed and created intentionally, organically evolved landscapes, and associative cultural landscapes.

Regarding transportation corridor cultural landscapes, the UK participant David Jacques, at the meeting in France stated that "the group concluded that the framework being worked on for cultural landscapes should prove helpful to the issue of corridor landscapes. Corridor landscapes can probably be accommodated with a careful interpretation of the criteria and the guidelines. Corridors, however, should not be thought of simply as landscapes, but as industrial archaeology and sometimes as traditional settlement patterns."

A few days after the Natchitoches conference, the World Heritage Committee adopted at its 20th annual meeting in Santa Fe revised cultural criteria which now makes it possible to identify and evaluate cultural land-scapes for the World Heritage List. This Committee called attention to the following:

- 1. in view of the relationship of many cultural landscapes to the maintenance of ecosystem processes and biological diversity, the importance of interdisciplinary review of proposals for inscribing such sites needs to be kept in mind;
- it is essential to ensure that cultural landscapes nominated for the World Heritage List meet the highest standards of universal significance and integrity that characterize sites inscribed previously under natural and cultural criteria;
- 3. the States Parties be informed of the new criteria and be asked to submit Tentative Lists of cultural landscapes in accordance with the Operational Guidelines; and
- 4. the Centre is requested to convene a group of

experts on the Tentative Lists and related issues and report back to the 1994 17th session of the Bureau.

It was the consensus of the Historic Transportation Corridors Conference participants, as published in this *CRM*, that both U.S. and World Heritage landmark criteria be studied and revised, if necessary, to permit designation, protection and interpretation of transportation corridors as cultural landscapes.

Terry B. Morton is President of US/ICOMOS.



Cover illustrations:

National Road milepost by Alison Cook; Selma to Montgomery route map courtesy NPS Southeast Regional Office; detail from Route 66 advertisement compliments of Mohave County (AZ) Chamber of Commerce; Anza expedition fording the Colorado River at Yuma Crossing by Steve Vlasis.

# The Challenges of Historic Corridors

#### **Christina Cameron**

he subject of this conference is one of immense complexity and diversity. I should confess that my own thinking has undergone quite an evolution as I pondered what I would say to you this morning. It began with a rather simplistic view about what constituted a historic corridor. I had in mind the scenic roads of our national parks or perhaps a historic canal. But the more I delved into the subject, the more I realized how complicated it was. I, therefore, want to congratulate the United States National Park Service for taking the initiative to examine this question in depth.

In these opening remarks, I will begin by defining what constitutes, in my view, a historic transportation corridor, followed by an overview of examples through time. I will then address the issues of identification, evaluation, and management of historic transportation corridors, with some reference to World Heritage.

#### What is a Historic Transportation Corridor?

Let us begin by trying to define what constitutes a historic transportation corridor. I suggest that it is a histori-

cally significant route along which people and/or goods have moved, in which there is evidence that the natural environment has been modified by mankind. It is a linear cultural landscape, which combines the natural and cultural environment.

Some corridors may have ceased to evolve, although evidence of their existence may still be discernible. Others may continue to function up to the present time, and indeed the evidence of their historical evolution may well have survived. although possibly in modified form

through continuing use.

A special category of these historic transportation corridors is associated with our aboriginal peoples, who tended not to alter in any significant way the landscapes through which they moved. They preferred to follow the rivers and valleys as they moved through the landscape,

National Photography Collection, PA 12382.

and the evidence of their land use is often archaeological, hence, not readily accessible. Indeed, their relationship to the land often featured powerful religious or cultural associations with the natural elements, thereby falling into the category of associative cultural landscapes.

#### An overview of historic transportation corridors

Allow me to illustrate a sampling of these historic corridors. I should say here that while I recognize that there are, in fact, transportation corridors associated with land, sea and air travel, I have chosen not to discuss the latter two-sea and air-because the routes leave little evidence, with the exception of their termini. The land routes that I am about to illustrate here do include rivers and inland lakes.

I have chosen a number of examples to illustrate the breadth of geography and diversity of character of historic transportation corridors. I will present them in four groups: trails, roads, waterways and railways.

#### Trails

Most of the early transportation corridors feature trails with improvements and stops along the way, ranging from campsites to towns and villages. In North America, we are familiar with aboriginal trails which had crisscrossed the continent for centuries.

One Canadian example, which survives with little modification, illustrates the features of aboriginal trails. This is a traditional footpath of the Sahtu Dene First

Nation, which runs from Fort Norman on the Mackenzie River to Drum Lake, high in the Mackenzie Mountains in the North West Territories. The tangible and intangible cultural resources along this trail address a wide variety of themes: spirituality, trade, retention of traditional knowledge, subsistence hunting, and other aspects of the continuity of Dene life before and since contact. The trail passes through the "moose nest," a crater-shaped area that was a particu-



habitat. Further on, Red Dog Mountain is explained as a feature that was moved by a shaman's power in order to improve navigation and allow the Dene to trade with the Hudson's Ray Company on the Mackenzie River. At Drum Lake itself, there stands the cabin of the influential shaman Yatsule who "dreamed" a cycle of 52 drum

(**Cameron**—continued on page 6)

(Cameron—continued from page 5)

songs which still forms the main body of Dene music in the traditional style.

Subsequent events have sometimes obscured the historic trails of our aboriginal people. A fine example of an aboriginal travel route later used by Scottish fur trader Alexander Mackenzie is the old footpath in northern British Columbia that leads to the Pacific Ocean. At the end of the 18th century, in search of an overland route from Montreal to the Pacific, Mackenzie struck off the Fraser River south of present-day Prince George and was led for 17 days along Native trade paths to the tidewater at Bella Coola, more than 300 kilometers away. The paths—trails, wagon roads and fords—formed one of the numerous "grease trails" by which coastal Indians traded fish oil to inland peoples. Two centuries later, we can still see an abandoned mission church and grave houses, as well as culturally modified rocks, along the route.

On the Canadian prairies, traders, especially the French-Indian half-breeds, moved their primitive Red River carts over a network of trails, to carry out trade at the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Pioneer trails are a familiar sight in North America, especially in legend. On the western plains, we have the Santa Fe Trail, and the Oregon and California Trails.

Commercial trails have existed from time immemorial. For example, the Frankincense Trail from Yemen along the western edge of the Arabian peninsula to the World Heritage Site of Petra in Jordan illustrates one of the countless caravan routes in this region.

The most famous of these ancient trails was the Silk Road or Route by which goods and ideas moved between the civilizations of China and Rome. The Silk Road had been in existence 1,400 years before Marco Polo travelled over it in the 13th century, but with the rise of Islam in the 7th century it had become too dangerous to travel and was hence closed for much of its history. From Asia Minor, it ran through modem Iraq and Iran, past the fabled cities of Samarkand and Bukkara, skirted the Takla Makam desert and entered China by the western gateway of the Great Wall. Rarely did anyone travel its entire length. Instead, goods moved along it in stages, handled by a series of middlemen.

An example of an aboriginal trade route made famous by the very events that swept away its old uses is the Chilkoot Trail, managed in tandem by our two Parks Services. Who can forget the remarkable photographs of those foot-sore miners wearily climbing the snowy mountains in pursuit of Yukon gold? A trade route controlled by the Chilkoot Tlingit Indians before 1890 and now a recreational trail since the 1950s, it is chiefly remembered as a focus for the Klondike Gold Rush of 1896-99, when the few mountain passes into the Yukon River valley were jammed with adventurers. Different routes were used at different times of the year, so it is more proper to talk of a "historic corridor" than a historic trail. Scattered along the corridor are discarded containers and folding boats, ruins of structures such as a stone crib (anchored to an aerial tramway at the summit), graveyards, trappers' cabins and the abandoned railway station at Bennett City.

#### Roads

Let us now take a look at roads as historic transportation corridors. Technologically more complex than trails, ancient roads were usually built for imperial purposes, i.e., to bind empires together.

The earliest was the Persian Royal Road, built by Emperor Darius in ca. 500 B.C. It connected the capital Susa near the Persian Gulf with Sardis, capital of Lydia in Asia Minor. Royal messengers could travel the 1,500-mile road in nine days, using a system of relays, although normal travel time was about three months.

The Roman military road system was even more extensive. The earliest section was the famed Appian Way, begun in 312 B.C. It linked Rome to Capua in the south and eventually to the Adriatic coast. The Appian Way still exists for several miles out of Rome, flanked by monuments and tombs. The Vatican still cares for the Christian tombs, but the rest of the road is neglected.

In South America, the Inca road system, built in the 15th century, was a feat of civil engineering in its time. It stretched from Quito in modem Ecuador down to near Santiago in modem Chile. One segment ran along the mountains, another along the coast, with interconnecting roads between the two main routes. The roads featured many short rock tunnels and vine-supported suspension bridges. As an aside, Thornton Wilder's Bridge of San Luis Rey was part of an Inca road. In the vertical world of the Andes, the stone-paved road and steep grades cut with steps are quintessential expressions of Inca culture.

Another kind of empire—a religious one—led to another kind of road. These are the pilgrimage routes that led to Rome, the Holy Land or indeed local shrines. One such local shrine, to St. James the Greater in Santiago de Compostelo in north-east Spain, grew in importance as Muslim powers threatened the safety of pilgrims to the Holy Land. After the discovery of the reliques of St. James in the 9th century, a cult developed that led eventually to the erection of the Cathedral in the 12th century. Four main pilgrimage routes developed out of France



The Chilkoot Pass, 1898.

across the Pyrenees and along the northern coast of Spain. Here, the Knights Templar and later the Hospitalers built hospices to shelter and protect pilgrims, similar to the caravanserai of the Far East that we saw earlier. The French medieval village of La Couvertoirade (literally, the cover or shelter) evokes the lonely and dangerous life along the pilgrimage routes.

Curiously, it's not until the 20th century that a similar phenomenon occurs in North America, with the invention of the automobile. Route 66 from Chicago to Santa Monica became the symbol of America on the move. It is more than a historic route; it was also the Okie migrant route so movingly described in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*.

The Trans-Canada Highway is a national engineering feat, driven by the political will to bind together the diverse elements of the northern half of the continent. Using ferry services at both ends, it is possible to drive from St. John's, Newfoundland to Victoria, British Columbia. Begun in 1950 and completed in 1970, the Trans-Canada Highway is the longest paved road in the world, some 7,821 kilometres or 4,784 miles. Portions of it are major engineering works in their own right.

#### Waterways

From trails and roads, let us now turn for a moment to waterways. The great river systems of the world provide a ready means of transport and, when improved with dams, canals, portages, and other technologies, they have become significant historic transportation corridors.

The Nile, the Rhine and the Danube Rivers have all been used in this way. In Russia, the Swedes, or Varangians, pushed southward to the Black Sea to trade with Constantinople. The city of Kiev bears witness to the thrust of the Varangian Kingdom to establish control over the Baltic-Black Sea trade.

In North America, the St. Lawrence River penetrated to the heart of the continent. Over time, this waterway has been modified and upgraded to match improvements in shipbuilding, but the corridor has changed little over the centuries.

The European explorers and fur-traders used the St. Lawrence as the beginning of a long route between Montreal and the Mackenzie River country in the northwest. They left few traces on the land other than portage trails between lakes or around rapids and trading posts in the upper country. The upstream waterway was first modified in the 1820s. Small barge canals like the ones at Lachine and Welland were built to get around rapids. Later in the century, both Canada and the United States built large canals and locks to by-pass the rapids on the St. Mary's River. Later still, in the 1950s, both countries participated in the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway system, with its massive locks to allow "salties" to penetrate right to the head of the Great Lakes. These successive improvements have destroyed most of the early work, since many of the smaller locks and canals have been submerged with the flooding of the Seaway. This raises the issues of authenticity and integrity, which I will return to in a moment.

Canada's blue ribbon historic transportation corridor is without doubt the Rideau Canal, operated as a National Historic Site by the Canadian Parks Service. It is a 200kilometre waterway or canalized river system, featuring 47 masonry locks with their hand-operated mechanical systems, plus dams, blockhouses, lockmasters' houses, and so forth. The Rideau Canal was built by the British Royal Engineers from 1826 to 1832, to provide an alternative route from Montreal to Kingston, via Ottawa, to avoid hostile fire along the upper St. Lawrence River. When it was no longer needed for defense, the Rideau Canal served as a commercial route in the later-19th century. It now operates as a recreational waterway.

The management challenge for the Parks Service lies in balancing the demands of recreational boaters, the needs of visitors interested in learning more about the canal's history, and the preservation needs of the canal structures themselves. In addition, there are important natural resource issues that require management, including the water levels and water quality, bank erosion, fish habitat and neighbouring wetlands protection. To complicate the matter further, the Parks Service exercises outright ownership on only the locks and structures. This means that, as is often the case in dealing with such corridors, we must work in partnership with many other owners, governments, and stakeholders to achieve our conservation ends.

#### **Railways**

Just a word on railway corridors, which have so strongly contributed to opening up the western lands to settlement and reinforced the sense of nation. In the United States, six transcontinental railway lines crossed the country; in Canada, two national systems reached the Pacific coast. While of utmost importance in the second half of the 19th century, rail systems are in sharp decline and therefore present a particular management challenge. How to evaluate and conserve portions of these great systems? Is the conversion from rails to trails appropriate and adequate? Will the conservation of nodes that include stations, water towers, and grain elevators be enough to tell the story?

#### **Evaluation and Management Issues**

These questions lead us naturally into the last part of this presentation, namely a discussion of evaluation and management issues. The diversity and complexity of the historic transportation corridors we have just examined lead to some preliminary conclusions.

The first conclusion is that transportation corridors should probably be treated holistically. The whole—or at least the inter-relationship of the parts—may be more important than the individual components themselves. Transportation corridors are significant because of what they represent, not because of the individual resources which may in themselves be mundane. How to evaluate these corridors to determine their relative importance has yet to be determined.

This evaluation issue has long troubled the World Heritage Committee. In an attempt to come to terms with the broader category of cultural landscapes, of which historic transportation corridors are a part, the Committee has created an expert working group to develop possible criteria to identify such landscapes. The working group

#### (**Cliver**—continued from page 1)

Over the past decades, as our view of historic preservation has matured to include not just buildings and monuments, but gardens and landscapes, we are becoming more comprehensive in our view of what constitutes the physical remnants of our past. As our understanding of the final picture grows when we assemble the pieces of a puzzle, so are we beginning to see that preservation must include a diversity of elements if it is to represent truly what is our accumulative heritage. The human experience has not been static. It is one of motion, continually changing to react to the vicissitudes of life. War, famine and new economic opportunities have caused people to migrate or connect places of disparate location, and, in this process to transport their ideas and other elements of their culture. In some cases, culture traits and religion have motivated people to travel and visit places that normally would not attract this focus of attention. The experience of life has been the sum total of experience that has reacted to the forces it has encountered.

It is these forces that have created what we are terming transportation corridors, these historical paths of motion and change. Such corridors are represented by railroads, canals, roadways and routes, or maybe the inspirational paths that people have followed from time immemorial as seen in the pilgrim routes found in many cultures around the world. These corridors may be made up of vague notions of place and time, or the specific and well delineated line of a railroad or canal. They may merely be the thread that ties sites, land-scapes or buildings together in a string common to a time or element of culture. Whatever they are, they generally represent more than a single place or even a single culture.

Experiencing a corridor can be different from what we normally experience at a single site or group of structures. We can describe a building, or often a land-scape, through a single photograph. This is difficult in the case of a corridor. A corridor must be experienced through motion or change. The Oregon Trail, for instance, cannot be experienced by seeing a mile of wheel tracks, nor can the march to Selma be experienced through the visit to a single building or site. Such happenings are best understood by moving through the experience. Such an experience involves not just sight, but sounds and efforts, the emotion expended on moving from place to place.

Such efforts are ephemeral and not easy to delineate in simple terms. Because of this, it raises the question, "how do we save this aspect of our past?" Historic transportation corridors are composed of varying elements: buildings, landscapes, bridges, that may represent diverse periods of time, and have differing states of integrity as well as being controlled by numerous owners and contained in many legal jurisdictions. To treat a corridor in the manner that a structure is treated, in

terms of integrity and preservation, would be a mistake. With a corridor, it is not a single physical entity that needs to be protected, but an experience that is represented through the physical elements that are encountered in space and time. As with a necklace that may contain beads of many unrelated sizes, colors and shapes, it is the thread joining them that makes the whole. The beads themselves may not be of a great value, may not have high integrity, but as a whole they create an object of beauty. Given this, then what is it that we should protect?

To answer this question, it may be best to use an example of a corridor on a miniature scale; in this case, the stairs rising to the head inside the Statue of Liberty. To experience the Statue on her interior, one had to climb up a winding, double-helix stair that led from the base to the windows of the head. It was this climb to the top that a visitor always recalled. Though ephemeral in nature, the experience needed the physical stair to achieve the experience. However, the exact preservation of this element was not necessary to achieve the experience. It was the nature of the stairs, tight and winding, that was important to the experience, not the detail of the tread or the material of the handrail. The same can be true of historic transportation corridors. The sense of isolation conveyed by a single building in a solitary landscape, or node of activity found in a town, contribute to the changing environment found along a corridor. The fact the town may change over time or that the single structure is not the same as the one that had been in this location when the corridor was in its prime of use, may not be relevant to the experience still found in traveling the corridor. However, if the nature of the town has been altered so that it has lost its association with the corridor, or the single building has changed so that it no longer has any meaning to the corridor, then the experience along the corridor may no longer be historically valid.

Historic transportation corridors can be seen as linking together a series of physical elements of a common theme or representing a single linear experience of motion through space and time. In either case we must find new means of applying our standards so that we are able to preserve what is essential about these corridors while allowing them to exist in an environment of continual change. It is hoped that from the thoughts presented in the accompanying articles, the reader will gain insight into a new and dynamic element of heritage preservation.

E. Blaine Cliver is the Chief, Preservation Assistance Division, National Park Service, Washington and acting Director, National Center for Preservation Technology and Training.

Editor's note: This issue of **CRM** contains a selection of the papers presented at the Historic Transportation Corridors Conference. Some of the articles are edited versions of the original presentations.

# **Reconnecting People with Place**

# The Potential of Heritage Transportation Corridors

#### Chester H. Liebs

ong championed by landscape scholars and increasingly the focus of conservation efforts, heritage transportation corridors are now the topic of a major conference dedicated to more closely scrutinizing the opportunities and pitfalls of this preservation frontier. In that spirit, this paper will reflect on several critical issues in the stewardship of heritage transportation corridors including their importance within the recent evolution of the preservation field, potential in contributing to a new national agenda of renewal and purpose along with an illustration of that potential—Jamaica Avenue and the "Magic Triangle," and finally, the readiness of the field for taking on the task.<sup>2</sup>

### Heritage Transportation Corridors and the Recent Evolution of the Preservation Field

Passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 signaled the transition from the age of the individual building or site, valued for its associational importance and preserved and "restored" for exhibition purposes, to the era of historic districts or complexes, most often located in older towns or cities, representing a greater breadth of historical periods. Containing structures capable of being "recycled," historic district conservation largely supplanted "clear cutting" as the preferred approach to urban resuscitation.

By the 1980s, however, the nation had become predominately suburban in both settlement pattern and outlook. Shopping malls replaced the "Times Squares" and courthouse squares as the perceived centers of what were now more loosely knit communities. Back in the cities growing poverty, persistent racial tensions, and drugs and crime, accelerated by retraction of federal funding and magnified by the news media, overshadowed many of the reclamations achieved in the historic district age.

At the same time, farms and forests succumbed to sprinklings of houses, shopping centers, and even high-rise office buildings, as suburbs and rural countryside blurred into exurbia.<sup>3</sup> Now in the 1990s rural preservation, long a stepchild to urban preservation, is coming into its own. Alliances are being forged with environmentalists, and still another stage in heritage stewardship is in full swing.

Despite this succession of initiatives of the past quarter century, one often hears preservationists lament that conservation of the cultural heritage still only simmers on the back burner of public debate. Perhaps, as some have suggested, this is a failed effort at public relations, or the inherited destiny of the United States and its "pioneering spirit," never to link memory and future. While there probably is some truth in both of these explanations, other factors have come into play as well, including the editing of landscape perception by new forms of transportation.

At one time travelers commonly experienced the built environment as a continuum when they rode along updated versions of ancient trails or on railroads that often paralleled them. Today the landscape is perceived as a series of "view bites," events, stops and landings. Cruising along the ground on super highways or high above in airways, it is possible to go from destination to destination with only a rapid and distant glimpse, for example, of where the poor live, the places products are made, or what was once the center of the city. Likewise, the so-called "products of preservation," historic districts, sites, complexes, and rural heritage areas, despite considerable efforts at interpretation, are still largely perceived by the public as isolated and unconnected events rather than being attached to a greater whole.

Though relatively little studied, this perceptual fragmentation has created a considerable education deficit, one that may well be contributing not only to the relative obscurity of the built environment as a public issue, but also to a national political climate where competing special interests hold sway instead of being channeled into a coherent national vision for the future.

### Heritage Transportation Corridors: Reconnecting People with Place

This is where heritage transportation corridors come in. Heritage transportation corridors, by their very nature, are connectors—the "lay lines" along which culture and historical perception flow. Besides obvious economic benefits through tourism, if selected intelligently and interpreted dynamically, heritage transportation corridors have the potential for reconnecting people with place—for refastening them within the cultural chronology of landscapes long fractured by the limiting perspectives wrought by rail, highway and air travel.

Heritage transportation corridors also have the potential to:

- ameliorate racial and ethnic isolation;
- vivify collective historical imaginations;
- promote realistic images of the future;
- restore the element of cause and effect in the debate over environmental stewardship versus short-term growth;
- expand the political dialog over what constitutes infrastructure from merely bridges and highways to a far more diverse network of public improvements and investments.

The stewardship of heritage corridors also has the potential, perhaps more than any other preservation endeavor, to link conservation of the built environment to a much larger agenda of national renewal and purpose.

#### (**Liebs**—continued from page 9)

While the length of this paper is limited to 10 minutes, I would like, nevertheless, to offer at least one illustration of the potential of heritage transportation corridors for contributing to at least some of these possible outcomes.

#### Jamaica Avenue and the Magic Triangle

The corridor I have chosen for this illustration is obscure compared to the famous passageways being showcased at this conference—the Oregon trail, the Lincoln highway, Route 66. It is formed by a road—snaking through seemingly forgotten neighborhoods in deepest Brooklyn and Queens in New York City—called Jamaica Avenue.

This former Native American trail, then colonial road, plank road and turnpike, now crisscrossed by a grid of sequentially-numbered streets, is darkened by an elevated railway. While at first glance this corridor, and the sites and structures lining it, might appear as a blighted jumble, a closer look reveals a treasure trove of information on the history of development, land use and cultural occupation, of a part of the nation's premier city.

One especially informative episode along the way is the area surrounding a pie-wedge shaped block, formed where Myrtle Avenue and the Long Island Railroad cut Jamaica Avenue on the diagonal, that I have unofficially christened "the Magic Triangle." Through close examination of the sites along the avenue and around the triangle—the arrangement and layering of roads, railroads, rapid transit, spaces, buildings designs, alterations, rooflines, churches, schools, place names, stores, signs, people, and many other clues, it is possible to decipher an entire rural-to-urban story.

These clues bear witness to the way in which this place evolved form a rural crossroads, station village, and railroad suburb, to its being swallowed up in the metropolitan area with the coming of the elevated railroad. Social change is revealed as well with evidence of Anglo, German, Italian, and most recently Asian and African American habitation.

In the spring of 1991, I was out with a camera crew trying to see if the story suggested by this evidence could be captured on video. I noticed an African American man intently watching us from a doorway as we aimed the camera at the roof above and behind him. He eventually inquired as to what we were shooting. I pointed out the ghostly form of a gable roof, swaddled in tar paper, barely visible behind the cornice of the commercial building where he was standing. "There could be an old farmhouse trapped inside that building," I said. He nodded somewhat quizzically. The crew and I packed up and changed locations.

About five minutes later the same man came running up to us and asked "was that house over there once a tavern?" He was referring to an Italianate house-like form, jutting up above a wall of plate glass storefronts and the entrance to a German hofbrau, all located at the apex of the triangle. He had, in fact, fastened on one of the visual Rosetta stones of the neighborhood. (The building was born a railroad station hotel in 1864,

became an end-of-city stop off for weary wheelmen and wheelwomen during the bicycle craze, and ultimately was made into a hofbrau, replete with a sumptuous bar, intriguingly in the early 1920s at the height of prohibition. Now the aging owners, sons of the original hofbrau meister, are thinking about selling the place.)

Then the man paused for a moment, glanced down the curving ribbon of Jamaica avenue winding to a vanishing point in the direction of Brooklyn, cast his eyes back at the village tavern-cum-hofbrau and exclaimed, "Hum ... this was once a small town. I was born in Bedford Stuyvesant down that way.<sup>5</sup> There must have been small towns around there too? Huh ... all these places hook up!"

Thus the glimpse of that first tar-papered roofline, and the word "farmhouse," had triggered an analysis and synthesis of visual information that he (and millions of others) had taken in over a lifetime but had not fully digested ... until now. This heritage transportation corridor, and its tangible text of cultural change, had redefined the city, and this man's place in space and time within it, forever.

From seeming overwhelming, the city could now begin to be understood as something which grew up incrementally. It was built by generations of different people. It could also be adapted, shaped and molded. Particularly informative elements also needed to be saved if cultural memory is to survive. In this brief encounter, history, culture, roots, and change had been fast-forwarded, replayed, and mentally connected.

A handful of preservationists in the neighborhood, with scant financial resources, trying to reinforce these connections, have installed interpretative plaques on the hofbrau, poignantly on a worn and stubby pole purported to be the last wooden horse-hitching post on Jamaica Avenue, and on a number of other sites scattered about the area. <sup>6</sup> One merchant even took interpretation a step further by having a mural painted on his business's outside sheet-metal security screen. Off hours, when the screen is rolled down and locked, the street is regaled with the image of the railroad station which once stood across the way.

The informative power of Jamaica Avenue and the "Magic Triangle" appears more difficult to discern from a country or city-wide perspective. The area is not protected by local ordinances nor is it listed in the National Register of Historic Places. A county-wide historic preservation guidebook fixes on one aspect of the area's history, the 1870s through 1890s, when developer Albon Platt Man transformed the surrounding farmland north of the village into a middle-class railroad suburb. It then dismisses the area because some of Man's houses " ... built in fashionable shingle-style with Queen Ann touches ... have been destroyed ... " or "... replaced by apartment buildings."

#### Historic Preservation: Is it Ready for the Task?

This leads to the question of how prepared is the preservation field for dealing with the complexities of identifying and conserving heritage corridors. The resolution of conflicting attitudes and methodologies from earlier stages in the field pose a considerable challenge. Champions of aesthetic beauty may, for example, wince

at proposals for keeping old gas stations or out-sized signs along a road like Route 66, even though these structures are critical informants of this great highway's history. The ghosts of Ruskin, Morris, and Viollet-le-Duc will also continue to haunt the field as decisions are made whether to conserve a corridor's layers of time or weed out those places which do not conform to a chosen context, theme, or period of significance.<sup>8</sup>

Even the long-standing practice of assigning historic sites, districts, and areas well-defined boundaries might not square with the need to preserve a corridor which might connect a string of cities and suburbs, and extend over long distances. Will there be pressure to conserve a few "safe and cuddly," and mostly small-town or rural episodes, rather than considering the whole? Will the field view the declaration of a corridor as a conceptual template to guide conservation over decades and even centuries, or will it engage in a few projects in the course of 10 or 20 years, lose patience, and then go on to something else?

The issue of heritage transportation corridor conservation becomes even more difficult when viewed through a global perspective. Choosing corridors for the World Heritage List, for example, a sub-theme of this conference, involves the inevitable reduction of heritage to that which is still floating, or is expected to be floating on the surface of the world's conscienceness, after most everything else has sunk in time. When thinking at this scale, certainly Jamaica Avenue and the "Magic Triangle," and even the Erie Canal might pale when compared with, for example, the routes of the Crusades. It takes an agile mind to be able to think of heritage at varying scales, from local and regional to national and international; and clear vision to be committed to conserving them all at the same time, each on their own terms and for their own reasons.

It is my hope that these remarks, and the other papers presented at this conference, will ignite a rigorous debate over preservation philosophy and techniques for the conservation of heritage transportation corridors. Old approaches for identifying and managing historic sites, districts and rural heritage areas at all levels—international, national, regional, and local—must be rigorously scrutinized, adapted and amended, if the potential of heritage transportation corridors, for reconnecting people with place, is to be fully realized.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Some of the many works on corridors include George Stewart, U.S. 40: Cross Section of the United States of America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1953); Robert Vogel, ed. Report of the Mohawk Hudson Area Survey (Washington D.C.: U.S.G.P.O., 1973); John Stilgoe, Metropolitan Corridor (New Haven: Yale, 1983); Chester Liebs, Main Street to Miracle Mile (Boston: Little Brown, 1985); Angus Gillespie, Michael Rockland, Looking for America on the New Jersey Turnpike (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1989). Pioneering corridors conservation projects can be found in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Texas, and other states.

- <sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this paper, my remarks are confined mostly to the United States, though many of the issues raised apply to other nations as well.
- <sup>3</sup> For an interesting account of this phenomenon see Joel Garreau, *Edge City* (New York: Doubleday, 1981).
- <sup>4</sup> See for example William Murtagh, "Janus Never Sleeps," in *Past Meets Future* (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1992), p. 16.
- The Bedford-Stuyvesant district in Brooklyn is one of New York City's major black ghettos.
- <sup>6</sup> A plaque was also placed on the house which stands on the site of the home of late-19th-century crime photographer and urban reformer Jacob Riis. The Riis connection opens up still another area of significance too lengthy to mention in this paper due to space limitations.
- Jeffrey Kroessler, Nina Rappaport, Historic Preservation in Queens (Sunnyside, N.Y.: Queensborough Preservation League, 1990), p. 51. My citing of this book is not meant to be a criticism. The work contains excellent material and calls attention to Queens' cultural heritage, which has been largely overshadowed by Manhattan's and Brooklyn's. I do suggest that by examining only sites and districts, and not corridors, the traditional approach taken in this and countless other works, places of significance will inevitably be overlooked.
- For a concise account read William Chapman, "William Morris and the Anti-Scrape Society," Heritage (Summer 1990), pp. 6-13.
- <sup>9</sup> See Frank Popper, Deborah Popper, "Where the Buffalo Used to Roam," *The Boston Globe* (September 27, 1992), for an excellent illustration of the power of a broad declaration of a landscape vision for the future.

Dr. Chester H. Liebs is professor of history and founder and director of the Historic Preservation Graduate Program at the University of Vermont, Burlington.

# Techniques of Identifying and Evaluating Corridors and Trails

### Archeological Property Types as Contributing Elements

#### Timothy R. Nowak

significant part of the historical landscape of corridors and trails is the associated cultural remains of those who have used these transportation routes over time. These remains, found both above and below the ground, are the tangible historic resources which link the corridor or trail to its historic context. They are the elements which serve to substantiate and illuminate the historical research which forms the framework for understanding the events, activities, and socio-cultural patterns which influenced the route.

Archeology, however, does not merely serve as the handmaiden to history. Beyond being a technical methodology, archeology, as a subdiscipline of anthropology, offers a unique theoretical perspective. It provides an analytical approach to material culture and spatial configuration and raises questions of behavioral patterning with regard to environmental and economic issues, social interaction, and culture process, all of which should be important to development of the historic context of the corridor.

Keep in mind that the location of any event or activity has the potential to provide archeological data, whether it be where someone lost a few coins from their pocket at some spot along a trail or whether it be where entrepreneurs constructed a ferry and roadhouse at a major stream crossing. Both are related to the corridor or trail in question. But unlike the first example which is random and isolated, the second example likely contains a pattern of associated structures and activity areas, and is certainly more significant in terms of the kind of information it can provide.

As with most cultural remains, these patterned features, which we identify as property types, are often related by shared physical or associative characteristics. Physical characteristics may relate to structural forms, architectural styles, or site types, whereas associative characteristics may relate to the nature of associated events or activities. At one level, historic corridors and trails are, themselves, property types. These include emigrant routes, cattle drive trails, federally-funded wagon roads, land grant military wagon roads, railroads, canals, river margins, national boundaries, and highways. But they can be identified and described by

other, more numerous property types which collectively, define the corridor or trail.

A property type may include the remains of a variety of buildings and structures with diverse physical characteristics or functions; it may also include any number of non-structural features, such as blaze marks, graves, privies, dumps or trash scatters. This can be illustrated by the Union Pacific Railroad corridor which formed the first transcontinental railroad line extending from Omaha, NE, to its connection point with the Central Pacific Railroad at Promontory Point in Utah. This corridor comprises not only preserved abandoned portions of the original railroad grade, it also includes the locations of construction camps, division points, section stations, and sidings. In turn, each of these property types are defined by other property types and features, such as water towers, bunk houses, bake ovens, depot buildings, round houses, privies, and even graves, just to name a few. Other property types which contribute to defining the railroad corridor may include tunnels, trestles, snow sheds, tie camps, etc. More intangible sites, which would not normally be manifested in archeological remains but would contribute to the historic context, would be the sites of train wrecks or train robberies.

The identification of property types ultimately depends upon the identification of feature functions. Archeologists have traditionally depended upon three sets of variables to identify these functions: artifact assemblage, feature form, and feature location.

Functional analysis of property types might begin with a determination of the range of feature types that could conceivably have existed. Archeological property types can sometimes be found based upon our predictions of what resources likely existed at a given place and time; very often they are discovered during archeological inventory surveys; most frequently they are located as the result of historical research. In the last case, this does not necessarily insure that the property type was really there or that it still exists. The bottom line is that archaeological property types must be positively identified in the field. The problem with archeological property types, however, is that they are not often manifested as easily recognizable features. The remains of structures may be observed as merely depressions in the ground, subtle changes in vegetation, the surface patterning of artifacts, or sometimes as only a slight difference in soil phosphates.

Of the three sets of variables previously mentioned, the analysis of artifact assemblages associated with specific features should initially provide the most reliable data for the identification of feature function. This is due, in part, to the fact that archeologists have historically expended greater effort in the analysis and interpretation of artifacts than in the analysis of feature form or location. Unfortunately, many artifact assemblages are often too small to be useful or they may contain materials that will yield ambiguous information that is not diagnostic in terms of artifact function or social diversity and, therefore, provide little information relating to feature function. In such instances feature form (i.e., structural attributes) and feature location may be used to supplement feature function identification.

Once all of the observable features of an archeological site have been inventoried, they must be described

and evaluated. This includes the types and quantities of both artifacts and features. Usually the features fall into three broad categories of property types: those that contribute to the historic significance of the property, i.e., the features that were present during the period of time that the property achieved its significance; those that are non-contributory or existed before or after the period of time the property achieved its significance; and those problematical features which cannot be readily determined to be either contributory or non-contributory. These latter features will probably require subsurface testing or the use of remote sensing techniques to answer that particular question. The types and quantities of contributing artifacts and features, in conjunction with historical research data and integrity, are the foundation for evaluating the significance of the prop-

Åll aspects of the property should be documented, including standing structures and buildings, as well as small-scale elements, such as trail ruts, stone fence lines, individual trees which may have been planted during the period of significant occupation, footpaths, etc. If they contribute to the significance of the property, structures and small-scale elements should not be described and evaluated separate from their archeological deposits.

It is also important that the boundaries or horizontal extent of the property be defined and that all resources within those boundaries have been inventoried and described. Boundaries of historical archeological properties may be based on one or more factors. Some of the more commonly used include: absence of artifacts and features or a significant decline in surface and subsurface artifact density; natural topographic or hydrological features such as a river or steep-sided drainage; historical or legal boundaries associated with the property; or land disturbance, such as construction or erosion, which has adversely affected portions of the property.

The first step in evaluating historic archeological properties is a determination of the site's integrity. This is a measure of the amount of interpretable physical remains and the quality of the information retained within the property. Two aspects of these remains must be considered: focus and visibility. Focus is the degree to which a pattern of the physical remains can be "read" clearly as to how it represents the remains of a structure or an activity area. Visibility refers to the actual amount of physical remains, however clearly or ambiguously they might be perceived.

Since this information cannot be exactly determined without extensive excavation, the integrity of the archeological property is usually estimated based upon the apparent "intactness" of the archeological record. This is most often demonstrated by the lack of serious disturbance to the property's archeological deposits and observation of spatial patterning of both surface and subsurface artifacts and features that represent differential uses or activities. Above-ground patterning of features and artifacts may indicate that below-ground patterning is still intact.

It is important to keep in mind that if significant information is still retrievable despite some disturbance, then the property may still have integrity. In other words, what is important is that the horizontal

and vertical patterning of the archeological remains is discernible and that significant data can be recovered.

If it is determined that the archeological property has integrity, then it must next be demonstrated that the property has information potential relative to the research questions that are important. This is perhaps the most critical issue in evaluating the site. It is not enough that the archeological property will likely yield information—the real question is whether that information is important to our understanding of the site and of the overall historical context of the corridor or trail. On the other hand, it is important to note that the information potential of historic archeological sites does not necessarily decline in relation to the amount of written historical information. Archeological data cannot only substantiate the written record, but the remains of material culture often provides truths and insights to social behavior not commonly or accurately document-

The key to evaluating historic archeological properties is directly related to the data gaps and information needs defined by the historic context. This process can be outlined as follows:

- Identify research questions applicable to the corridor or trail and to the associated property types.
- Justify that the research questions are important.
- Determine the data categories that are needed to answer the research questions .
- Confirm that the data is likely to be in the site to answer the research questions.
- Demonstrate that the property does not contain information that is typical or that is provided by other similar sites.

After these steps have been completed, it is now possible to further evaluate the historical archeological property in terms of National Register criteria. Certainly, if all of the previous five steps have been well documented, then the property can be deemed significant in that it may likely yield information important in history. This is Criterion D under which most archeological properties are evaluated.

Historic archeological properties, however, may also be evaluated under the other criteria. For example, historic archeological property types that have good archeological integrity and are associated with important historical events are significant under Criterion A (e.g., Big Horn National Battlefield). Historic archeological property types that have good integrity and are associated with important persons are significant under Criterion B (e.g., Brigham Young's privy at Nauvoo, IL). Historic archeological property types that have good integrity and illustrate a type, period, or method of construction are significant under Criterion C (e.g., the ruins of an Overland Trail stage station). Often, the property type will have significance under a combination of these criteria.

Timothy R. Nowak is the district archeologist, Rawlins District, Bureau of Land Management, Rawlins, WY.

# **Identifying and Evaluating Historic Corridors and Trails**

#### Jere L. Krakow

his brief paper will address identification and evaluation of resources associated with historic transportation corridors and trails. The underlying assumption here is that some individual or interest group has advocated recognition of such a transportation resource. What should be the response of a land managing agency or organization? I would urge a holistic approach involving not only history, but archeology, ethnology, geography, architecture, and landscape architecture.

The most important and basic direction is to establish the historical context for the corridor. This will establish its significance and guide further decisions about placing it in a special category of a nation's heritage, and, therefore, whether it is deserving of protection and preservation. As a result, it may be designated a historic trail or heritage corridor.

Historical context is determined through a survey of literature, principally secondary sources. Histories of the nation, state, region and locality are consulted to identify the chronology, themes, and topics of the transportation corridor. For instance, it would underscore social, political or economic history of a nation, and explicate themes and periods of history such as native populations, nation-hood, expansion and internal conflicts. Sub-themes related to transportation, commerce, trade, agriculture, or others would also be identified.

As a result of this survey, the historical context may be determined, and the historical significance of the transportation corridor or trail assessed. This is a fundamental assessment useful in feasibility studies which often lead to enabling legislation for new parks, a database for planning, the initiation of a historic resource study, and the nomination of the corridor or trail to a state inventory, the National Register, or for National Historic Landmark designation, and even nomination to the World Heritage List. Other uses often relate to interpreting the resource to the visiting public, data for promotional and educational literature, and the beginnings of a site inventory.

Following a determination of context and significance, mapping of the route and inventorying the sites along it are important steps to take. To do this, however, it is necessary to locate primary sources—first-hand accounts related to the corridor under consideration. Research must locate journals, diaries, and first person accounts which bear on the study area. Repositories and private collections need to be located and researched for such materials. Historical maps such as those done for land surveys, and exploration are valuable resources; painting, drawings, sketches, historic photographs, and aerial photographs as diverse as those taken by the Soil Conservation Service and NASA will also fill in important details. This information begins to flesh out detail about the corridor.

A number of secondary sources related to the corridor also need to be uncovered. These may include studies done by professionals in fields such as archeology, ethnography, geography, and history. Government agency reports and those from state or local governments, foundations, and contracted studies need to be examined for information. State inventories, nomination forms from the National Register of Historic Places, and reports from the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER) also supplement the database being gathered.

Another very important source of information is the field survey of the resource. Driving the corridor and walking portions of it provide important and innumerable pieces of information about the landscape. The physical setting and the cultural layers put on it by occupants from the beginning to the present are very important. If a similar landscape exists elsewhere from the study area it can be valuable to visit it. Renowned geographer Carl O. Sauer, native of Missouri and longtime professor at the University of California, put it in perspective when he urged that to understand the American Southwest, we travel to and study Mexico's northern states. The same lesson is conveyed by other geographers: D.W. Meinig, Terry Jordan, John Jakle, and Erhard Rostlund.

Field work immediately allows a researcher to size up the viewsheds of the corridor, the landscape, especially the cultural landscape component, and the successive layering of occupants. Site inventory forms and photographs completed on site will secure added documentation. With knowledge gained from traditional print sources, the on-site visit becomes the proverbial learning experience. One can see the built environment, road alignments, trail ruts, and the ensemble of fences, fields, wood lots, farmsteads, roads, windbreaks and development zones.

A very important aspect of the field work is to arrange for time with local informants and experts. Often they provide local literature, oral tradition, and a community memory. It adds a dimension to the database that often is dismissed as of little importance. Of course one always seeks to corroborate the information with other sources. Experience shows that local residents know a great deal, and often provide links to others who add further to the knowledge base about the corridor or trail.

Visiting the corridor reveals the threats to resources due to development pressures, road realignments, construction of bridges where ferries presently exist, and other potential impacts on historic resources. Viewing the landscape also permits mapping of protection areas where change has been minimal since the period of historic significance. Some degree of protection may be achieved through zoning, easements, covenants, or purchase in fee simple.

The evaluation of resources along historic transportation corridors and trails is thus predicated on sound knowledge. Research from a multi-disciplinary approach is necessary to accomplish this. A level of significance is determined. All historic resources contribute to the whole. Some may have more associative importance and integrity of site or resource than others. Once a substan-

## Route 66 **Revisited**

#### Teri A. Cleeland

he Old Trails Highway, the Mother Road, the Will Rogers Highway, Main Street of America ... or just Route 66. These nicknames reflect America's affection for the road that wound for 2,282 miles through eight states, from Chicago to Los Angeles. People from all over the world are once again getting their kicks on Route 66. But it has also been the subject of serious study, and this paper outlines some of the methods used to identify, evaluate, and interpret its significance.

It seems as though Route 66 has about as many different manifestations as it had nicknames. Like any engineered structure, it was improved through the years, and hacked away at by its replacements. By-passed sections crumbling on the landscape are rather like a jigsaw puzzle that, put together, can reveal much about the evolution of automotive transportation in America.

My focus is on Route 66 in Arizona and through the Kaibab National Forest. This is the highest stretch of Route 66 in the country, located just west of Flagstaff and south of the Grand Canyon. The forest headquarters is in the City of Williams, which in 1984 entered the history books as the last Route 66 town by-passed by the interstate highway system. Williams held a party to commemorate the event, and Bobby Troup sang his song "Get Your Kicks on Route 66" on the new Interstate 40 bypass. During a speech mourning the passing of "Old 66," an unnamed state highway official whispered to Kaibab **National Forest Recreation Officer** 

Dennis Lund, "I don't know why everyone's making such a fuss. Route 66 is like an old can of tuna—once you've used it up, you throw it away!" Lund disagreed and figured that a lot of other people would too, so he set out to ensure that Route 66 would not be forgotten.

In 1988 the Kaibab National Forest began a systematic inventory of all the remnants within its boundaries and nominated seven of them to the National Register of Historic Places. This discussion follows the format used in the nomination (Cleeland 1988). First, some historical context.

Route 66 began in the ancient past, with aboriginal trails linking trade partners from the Great Plains to coastal California. In 1859, the Beale Wagon Road was built along these old trails. Traces of it across Arizona have since been inventoried. Edward F. Beale prophetically proclaimed that his route would "... eventually be transcontinental railroad followed Beale's path in 1883. Towns soon grew up along the railroad, and roads linked their main streets. The stage was set for Route 66. The decade of the teens saw the development of interstate highways, but roads were still basically old wagon routes. Road maps from 1913 depict the future path of

the greatest emigrant road to California." (Beale 1858). A

Route 66 as a rough and tortuous dirt track with few signs to mark the way.

It would be years before travelers saw any real improvements. Finally, between 1920 and 1923, the future US Highway 66 in Arizona was designed and built. The narrow travelway was graded and cinder-surfaced, and new bridges and culverts were constructed at canyon and river crossings. Most reflected the skills of local craftsmen, and were not built to standard plans. The improvement was remarkable, even though the road remained narrow, twisting, steep, and unpaved.

> Boosters had named the route between Chicago and Los Angeles the National Old Trails Highway, because it linked together segments of old trails. In 1926, when every interstate highway received a number, it was officially designated U.S. Highway 66 (Scott and Kelly 1988).

The United States experienced an explosive increase in automobile use during the 1920s, but the roads were no longer adequate for the heavy traffic loads. This was especially true of Route 66. In part to relieve Depression-era unemployment, Route 66 was rebuilt through Arizona in the early 1930s. The new highway reflected the engineering advances of the previous decade. It had a straighter alignment made possible by deep cuts in hills and greater quantities of fill material to make the grade as gentle as possible. Standardized concrete box culverts replaced the earlier handcrafted ones. A wider travelway, improved visibility, guard rails, and pavement increased the road's safety and driving ease. In 1938, Route 66 became

the first completely paved cross-country highway in the United States.

It seems that U.S. Highway 66 was in the right place at the right time in history. As it was completed to the engineering standards of the day, events happened along its path that would cement it into the folklore of America. Great Plains dust storms began one of the greatest migrations in our country's history, sending refugees to California. John Steinbeck immortalized the people and the "Mother Road" in his 1939 book The Grapes of Wrath. John Ford's movie of the same name increased the road's notoriety.

Many others traveled toward California, not to escape despair, but to seize opportunity in the growing west. Americans took vacations along Route 66, and entrepre-



Route 66 sign, Williams, AZ. Photo by the author.

#### (Cleeland—continued from page 15)

neurs vied for the traveling trade with roadside attractions like teepees, snake pits, and Indian dancers. Restaurants, curio shops, campgrounds, gas stations, and motor courts sported flashing neon signs, bright colors, and unusual shapes—anything to lasso in tourists.

Post World War II prosperity brought a steady increase in automobile travelers. One of them was Bobby Troup, who in 1946 drove to California along the route, and

wrote the famous musical roadmap song "(Get Your Kicks on) Route 66". Later, the television series "Route 66" renewed interest in the highway, even though few episodes were ever filmed on the road (Wallis 1990). Route 66 was celebrated in song, in books, and on the silver screen, but fame had a downside—overcrowding on the road.

Although Route 66 had received constant maintenance through the years, it began to show wear. Traffic congestion increased, especially in the small towns along the way. In 1944, Congress passed the Federal Highway Act, which eventually spelled doom to Route 66. Among other things, it authorized a limited access interstate highway system to connect major metropolitan areas and to help serve in the national defense. Although it was not acted upon until 1956, the 1944 act set the stage for this profound change in federal highway policies.

Route 66 was gradually by-passed until 1984, when the last link in the interstate was opened at Williams, Arizona. But it endures as the main street of many towns. Some stretches are now rural byways; others lie abandoned, sliced up by their interstate replacement. But people would not let the road go, and recent years have witnessed a ground swell of interest in the historic highway. Route 66 associations thrive in each state through which it passed, and even in other

countries. The Route 66 Study Act of 1990 has initiated a National Park Service study of the road and associated remnants. The rest of this paper outlines the Kaibab National Forest program to identify, evaluate, nominate, protect, and interpret Route 66.

#### **Identification**

Relocating and identifying the various sections of Route 66, or any other highway, can be a challenge. It was not always obvious whether a particular stretch of road was once a part of Route 66, especially because it changed in appearance with each improvement. Old maps provide a first step toward identifying highways' general locations, but are often not detailed enough. Some, however, do show the precise location of the road as it weaves through town centers. Engineering plans provide far more detail, such as the alignment of by-

passed sections, cross sections of grades, bridge designs, and roadside structures. Accompanying survey and construction reports give even more information, including history of previous construction, costs, materials, justification for locating new alignments, and so on. Engineering plans can sometimes be found at local land management agencies, county recorder's offices, and state and county highway departments.

Another useful source for the study was Arizona Highways magazine, which began as a highway engi-

neer's trade journal. Each issue revealed the progress of highway construction throughout the state. Newspapers of the day also heralded new roads, and these provide good historical context. Some states maintain archives of highway department photographs that depict stretches of roadway, sometimes with captions regarding condition and other information. Although incidental to their main purpose, these photographs also show roadside structures. Photographs may also be found at local historical societies, museums, libraries, and land management agencies.

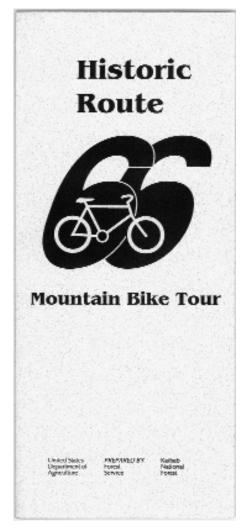
Old guide books and oral histories are good sources for information on road locations and conditions as well as roadside attractions. These accounts also enliven what might otherwise be a sterile assessment of material culture.

Postcards, even with their inherent shortcomings, depict highways and the businesses alongside them. The Curt Teich postcard collection in Illinois is a well-organized archive with telephone assistance available.

Aerial photographs are also useful for tracing historic highways. These provide a bird's-eye view that reveal old alignments and their relationship with each other as well as with the topography. The evolution of highway construction technology can be considered as the triumph of engineering over geography. The various align-

ments of Route 66 at Ash Fork Hill in Arizona, a 1,700' high escarpment, illustrate this point. The aerial photograph shows the 1922 section's twists and turns as it ascends the side of the canyon without the aid of land-scape modification to improve alignment. By 1932, deep cuts and fills smoothed the grade and lessened curves. In 1950, engineers again realigned this troublesome section by blasting a new artificial grade straight up through the steep canyon. (Interstate 40 later followed this same route.) The tremendous costs of improved alignment and grades on the new roadway were justified by the increase in traffic and higher speed limits.

Once alignments are traced out on current topographic maps from aerial photographs and old maps, field investigations can provide additional clues and verification. Construction dates were sometimes marked on culverts and bridges. Rusty road signs, license plates, and other



artifacts sometimes line the highway. However, roadsides were often cleaned up in anti-litter campaigns, and most discards found along old Route 66 alignments postdate the road's abandonment.

#### **Evaluation**

The field inventory of Route 66 revealed some 100 miles of parallel road segments within the 35 mile Kaibab National Forest boundaries. These were in varying condition, representing 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and later alignments. One went through Williams' city center, others were now rural byways, and many others had long been abandoned. For the National Register nomination, these were organized into three property types, based on current use and appearance.

Abandoned Route 66. These sections of Route 66 appear today essentially as archeological sites. No longer accessible by automobile and long forgotten, they lie exposed to natural forces of disintegration. Bridges, culverts, curbing, guard rails, right-of-way markers, centerlines, and other associated features often remain in place, although some of these may have been removed at the time of abandonment. Some stretches were never paved, and in some areas, pavement was ripped up to restore the alignment to a more natural appearance. Roadside properties are rarely found in these sections (with the possible exception of informal camp sites) because they required continued access following realignment projects. Three examples of Abandoned Route 66 were listed in the National Register.

Rural Route 66. These stretches of Route 66 remain in use for local access. As Route 66 was rebuilt, these sections were transferred from state highway departments to local, usually county, control. These agencies provide routine maintenance in the form of patching, paving, and grading. Original culverts, bridges, right-of-way markers, and other features are usually found along these sections. Pavement may have been removed or replaced through the years. Associated properties such as curio shops, gas stations, tourist camps, and motels (both active and abandoned), are often present. Three examples of Rural Route 66 were listed in the National Register.

Urban Route 66. The "Main Street of America" passed through the towns and cities in its path. The highway was flanked by historic buildings in downtown areas (often designated Historic Districts), and it encouraged strip development. Motels, gas stations, restaurants, curio shops, and other tourist facilities line the highway at the periphery of towns. During the historic period, development tended to be toward the eastern edge of towns. Since most traffic was heading west, each business wanted to be the first one that travelers saw (Wurtz 1987). One example of Urban Route 66, through the City of Williams, was listed in the National Register.

#### Nomination

All three property types have similar National Register registration requirements. First, a road segment must have been a part of U.S. Highway 66 between 1926 and 1944. The beginning date is the year of the highway's official designation within the national highway system. To be eligible, a road section could have been built before 1926, but it must have been in use in 1926 or later. The

1944 end date coincides with the passage of the Federal Highway Act, which altered highway policies. This date is also close to the standard 50-year National Register cutoff date. Eventually, it should be extended to include all the years that Route 66 was in use. In Williams, we'll probably have to amend the forms in 2034, 50 years after the 1984 bypass.

These association requirements are why it is so important to accurately identify and date road segments.

By separating Route 66 into different property types, integrity evaluations can be made based on current appearance, which is a function of use. Properties can only be compared within separate categories because they are functionally and morphologically distinct. An abandoned road looks different than a maintained one,



Route 66, 1922 alignment (left) and 1932-33 alignment (right), 1988.

which looks different than an urban one. However, certain elements are common to all three. Integrity of design is the most important element. Eligible segments retain the essential features that identify them as highways. These include the original cross-section template (comprised of cut banks, fill slopes, road bed, grade, and go forth), original alignment, and at least some associated features like culverts and bridges. Pavement is inherently fragile and often covered over, tom up, or replaced. Some early alignments of Route 66 never were paved. So, while original pavement would be a desired feature, it is not a registration requirement.

Property boundaries extend to the original right-ofway, 66' to each side of the road's centerline (66' feet is a surveyor's chain measurement, not a tribute to the highway's designation). The end points were determined by integrity evaluations; often the ends were defined by later interstate highway construction that buried the road.

Feeling and setting are subjective but important elements. Nominated sections should be sufficiently long to preserve the feeling and setting of a continuous road. An ideal would be an uninterrupted view down the road to the horizon. The setting should reflect the character of the historic period, with minimal intrusive elements. Associated roadside properties from the historic period add to the feeling of historicity.

The Kaibab nomination did not include any adjacent properties, simply because the Forest Service does not

(Cleeland—continued on page 18)

#### (Cleeland—continued from page 17)

own any. Roadside attractions such as motels, gas stations, curio shops, tourist camps, even signs, could be added to the nomination as a separate property type. They are important to recognize as an integral part of the highway experience—they help to define the road's meaning—yet they are rapidly being destroyed. Recognizing and preserving significant roads and road-side properties is a challenge in today's throw-away society .

#### **Protection**

National Register listing is just the first step in an overall preservation plan for the historic highway. Protection and interpretive measures are equally important. Soon after Route 66 was listed in the National Register, a programmatic agreement was drawn up for the management and maintenance of listed Route 66 sections authorized under easements to Coconino County (Kaibab National Forest 1989). This agreement specifically lists construction and maintenance procedures that may or may not have an adverse effect on the road's integrity, and when consultation with the State Historic Preservation Office is required. This agreement allows the County to perform routine maintenance without time-consuming consultation procedures, and spells out which activities could adversely affect the road's integrity, and thus trigger consultation.

Wherever possible, abandoned stretches of Route 66 have been closed to vehicular traffic. This reduces damage to fragile pavement, and provides recreational opportunities.

#### Interpretation

The Kaibab National Forest has developed two interpretive tours for Route 66. One is an auto tour between Williams and Flagstaff. It includes a short hiking trail on a stretch of abandoned road now closed to traffic. The other is a mountain bicycle tour for those who want to get their kickstands on Route 66. Two interpretive loops on abandoned stretches combine an outbound ride on the unpaved 1920s road with a return on the improved 1930s stretch.

In Williams, Route 66 is featured in a walking tour of the Historic District. The shield-shaped commemorative

U.S. Department of Agricumum.
Provide of Motifier
Houses (1901)

UNITED STATES HIGHWAY NO. 66

Route 66 map. Courtesy U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Public Roads, 1931.

symbol was combined with "no parking" signs to mark the route through town. The Kaibab National Forest and Coconino County cooperated to place similar signs along the auto tour route, but these proved to be too tempting to thieves. Twenty signs were posted, using vandal-resistant measures, and within the first week, 16 were stolen. Signs located in remote areas were most vulnerable, while those in populated areas or at busy intersections remain standing.

We have done much more with Route 66, including promotions to celebrate its 66th anniversary, but this paper can only allude to them. This conference is an indication of the tremendous interest in our efforts to discover and preserve historic travelways. Let's hit the road and get started.

#### **Bibliography**

Beale, Edward F.

1858 "Wagon Road From Fort Defiance to the Colorado River." U.S. 35th Congress, 1st Session, House Executive Document 124.

Cleeland, Teri A.

1988 "Historic U.S. Route 66 m Arizona," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Nomination, with seven individual registration forms. On file at the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, Phoenix, AZ.

Kaibab National Forest

1989 Programmatic Agreement Among the Kaibab National Forest, USDA Forest Service, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the Arizona State Historic Preservation Officer Regarding the Implementation of the Management and Maintenance of National Register-Listed Segments of U.S. Route 66 Authorized Under Easements to Coconino County. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Kaibab National Forest, Williams. AZ.

Scott, Quinta and Susan Croce Kelly

1988 Route 66: The Highway and Its People. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman and London.

Wallis, Michael

1990 Route 66: The Mother Road. St. Martin's Press: New York.

Wurtz, Michael

1987 "Route 66: From Beale to Bypassed," Student paper on file at Northern Arizona University Special Collections Library, Flagstaff. (Presented at the Arizona Historical Society meetings in Flagstaff, 1987).

For information on the Curt Teich postcard collection, contact: Lake County Museum, Lakewood Forest Preserve, Wauconda, IL 60084; 708-526-8638.

For information on ordering aerial photographs, contact: USDA ASCS Aerial Photography Field Office, 2222 West 2300 South, P.O. Box 30010, Salt Lake City, UT 84130-0010; 801-975-3503.

[In recent years, Route 66 has been featured in books, magazines, newspapers, journals, and television news stories. Because this paper concentrates on original research, very few of those many sources are cited.]

Teri A. Cleeland is a forest historian and recreation planner at the Kaibab National Forest, Williams, AZ.

# The Oregon-California Trails

#### William C. Watson

hank you for the opportunity to represent the Oregon-California Trails Association (OCTA) and to talk with you about the newest National Historic Trails. But first, I want to tell you a little about OCTA, which was founded in 1982, and now has 3,100 members. Last August, 600 attended our 10th annual convention in Rock Springs, WY. OCTA publishes News From the Plains, a quarterly newsletter about our activities, and the Overland Journal a magazine of scholarly trail history, issued four times a year.

My wife and I work as a team. Jeanne and I are charter and life members as well as officers of OCTA. Six years ago we organized and still co-chair OCTA's 20-member legislative committee. Our goal of obtaining National Historic Trail designation for the California and Pony Express trails was achieved when a Senate deadlock was finally broken and President Bush signed it into law on August 3,1992. The OCTA membership strongly supported our committee. Each of the four times we asked for their help, 350-500 calls and letters arrived in Washington.

Two weeks each summer our family and friends work together to maintain and mark the top 2 1/2 miles of the Carson branch of the California trail under the Forest Service "Adopt-A-Trail" volunteer program. We recruited Kirkwood ski resort homeowners to adopt the eastern adjoining segment. On the west, for 10 miles the trail is open for vehicles and hikers. A 4-wheel drive club has adopted that segment.

The National Trails Act, passed in 1968, covered Scenic Trails like the Appalachian and the Pacific Crest trails. Scenic Trails can condemn land to establish a continuous protected viewscape for outdoor recreation. America's first National Trails Day on June 5,1993, will mark the 25th anniversary of the National Trails Act.

In 1978, the National Trails Act was modified to include National Historic Trails, recognizing prominent routes of exploration, migration and military action. The Oregon Trail and Mormon Pioneer Trail were among the first to be designated as National Historic Trails. Historic trails cannot condemn private land and therefore are not end-to-end hiking trails. Frequently, the trail corridor is the approximate width of a covered wagon—about 4-6' feet wide. Markers are placed along nearby roads or highways to connect actual trail segments. This historic transportation corridor consists of:

Oregon NHT—2,200 miles from Independence, MO, to Oregon City, OR (near Portland); opened in the mid-1830s; 1993 marks the 150th anniversary of the main migration to Oregon; 300 miles of ruts remain and 125 historic sites have been identified.

**Mormon Pioneer NHT**—1,300 miles from Nauvoo, IL, via Council Bluffs, IA, to Salt Lake, UT; opened in 1846-47, 43,000 emigrants followed it; currently marked as a 1,600-mile highway trail.

**Pony Express NHT**—1,900 miles from St. Joseph, MO, to Sacramento, CA; used from 1860-1861.

California NHT—5,700 miles beginning in Independence, Missouri as well as at St. Joseph, MO, and Omaha, NE; includes all alternate routes in the midwest and the far west—Carson, Truckee/Donner, and Lassen routes plus Applegate-Lassen southern route to Oregon.

By handshake agreements, the National Pony Express Association annually reride the trail with over 90% of it on the actual route. OCTA and the NPEA were legislative partners for six years. We walked the House and Senate halls together, talking to aides and jointly testified several times in favor of the legislation.

For OCTA members, the California Trail starts at the National Frontier Trails Center in Independence, MO. The Pioneer Woman's statue was a local idea funded by contributions. In the rear is the 20x40 two-story OCTA headquarters furnished to us by the city. This is the home of our COED (Census of Overland Emigrant Documents) database of 900 emigrant records surveyed by our members. Also, it is the home of OCTA's Merrill Mattes Library of 2,000 trail research volumes and of the Paden Collection, consisting of 100 artifacts collected in the 1930s from private landowners.

Independence was the jumping-off place for a number of wagon trains but many left from other Missouri river towns. Upon reaching the Missouri River, frequently they waited days for ferries to take them across.

In Kansas at the crossing of Red Vermillion river still stands the Vieux Elm, the largest in the U.S., and named for a Potawatamie Indian chief. On private land in western Kansas and open for special occasions is Alcove Springs. The owner was given our Friend of the Trail award for preserving this site.

Most diaries mention fierce storms in the Platte River valley and how wet they got enroute to Ash Hallow, now a Nebraska state park. Here, most emigrants locked the wheels and skidded their wagons down the steep slope while women and children walked.

Two of the most famous landmarks of the Overland trails were Court House Rock, another famous Nebraska site commented about in emigrant diaries, and Chimney Rock. When wagon trains camped for the night many emigrants walked several miles to climb Chimney Rock and carve their names. Funds are now being raised to build a non-profit interpretive center here.

At Scott's Bluff in Nebraska, now operated by the NPS, the wagons are replicas, part of the interpretation center for the overland trails. Paintings and diaries reveal that the story of the lone covered wagon is a Hollywood myth.

At Fort Laramie most wagon trains stopped for mail, trail information and supplies. This Wyoming site is now operated by the NPS. Here, the Sioux Indians often camped, trading with the emigrants. The OCTA Census of Emigrant Documents records many Indian contacts and almost all were favorable.

Register Cliff was another famous Wyoming landmark, where emigrants left their names. L.N. Breed was just one of the many emigrants who did so in 1853.

The Guernsey Ruts in Wyoming are the finest along the entire trail. Another important site was the Reshaw bridge over the North Platte River near Casper,

(Watson—continued on page 20)

(Watson—continued from page 19)

Wyoming. This replica was built by a local historical society.

But the most important landmark of the entire trail was Independence Rock, a popular camping spot for the wagon trains. There are numerous reports of July 4th celebrations being held here. The view from the top of Independence Rock shows the Sweetwater River as it flows east from South Pass. Equally impressive was Devil's Gap, on private land in Wyoming. The Sun Ranch has received an OCTA Friend Of the Trail award for preservation efforts here. At South Pass, crossed by every wagon headed west, the 1906 Oregon Trail marker was erected by Ezra Meeker when he retraced the trail in reverse. It is on private land and the Hay brothers received a Friend Of the Trail award last August for preservation of this site.

A second marker at South Pass honors Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding, mid-1830s missionary wives and the first white women to cross the Rockies. Nearby is Pacific Springs, the first point after South Pass where the water flows west. It is also on private land. A few miles further west is the Charlotte Danzie Grave, preserved by descendants but marked with an OCTA interpretive sign.

Fort Bridger on Black's fork of Green River is another NPS site. A few miles away is the Daniel Lantz grave with protective pole fence and interpretive sign installed by OCTA's Graves and Sites Committee.

In Utah, Emigration Canyon was opened by the Donner party in 1846, as this company attempted to follow the route later known as the Hastings Cut-off. It was used by the Mormons in 1847 to reach Salt Lake. City of Rocks in Idaho is another spectacular site. These are Steeple Rocks. OCTA worked with the BLM to have this area designated a National Reserve. The California Trail from Salt Lake rejoins the Fort Hall trail in City of Rocks.

The Humboldt Sink and the Forty Mile Desert in Nevada presented a major obstacle for emigrants. At this point those taking the Truckee-Donner route went to the right. OCTA worked closely with Rick Burns while he produced the Donner Party documentary shown on PBS. Wagons taking the Carson Route took the left-hand fork across the desert.

The Carson Canyon on the Nevada-California border is part of Forest Service land. The trail crossed the Carson River three times in this rugged canyon before reaching Hope Valley. Thanks to cooperative cattle ranchers and former Congressman Norman Shumway this beautiful and historic valley is now a National Reserve administered by the Forest Service.

At Red Lake the trail begins the first ascent of the Sierra Nevada mountains. The trail here is partly on private land as well as on Forest Service land. Most emigrants camped at the lake to rest up for the climb. A cobbled wagon road was paved with small stones by emigrants to make it easier to follow the trail up the Devil's Ladder. Contents of each wagon plus the canvas top were hauled up on the backs of the animals. Then the empty wagon was double-teamed to pull it up the mountain. Pioneers also used rocks to build up the down-hill side of the wagon road.

The first summit for the pioneers was the Carson Pass, today the summit of Highway 88. A Forest Service interpretive center, being built here by volunteers, is to be dedicated on National Trails Day, June 5, 1993.

Caples Lake in pioneer times was a grassy valley with two streams running through it at the base of the second summit. Most wagon trains camped overnight in the meadow. After the brush had been cleared on our adopted segment of the trail, ruts were clearly visible while more ruts still exist along the final climb to Covered Wagon Summit, the gateway to California.

West Pass, at 9,600' elevation, is the highest point in the U.S. that the covered wagons rolled. The rail marker was erected in 1970 by the Nevada Historical Society and is now maintained by a private trail group. From West Pass the dirt road, on top of the old emigrant trail, is now maintained by a wheel drive club.

Identifying, marking and preserving the emigrant trails involves many people and many different organizations, both public and private. For many of us it is a labor of love and I have enjoyed taking you on this armchair trip by covered wagon over our Historic Transportation Corridor to California.

William C. Watson is past president of the Oregon-California Trails Association.

(**Krakow**—continued from page 14)

tial amount of research is completed, then one can begin the evaluation of resources along the corridor.

A body of literature does exist to aid in evaluation. In particular, the National Register of Historic Places has very helpful staff and publications to give insight, advice, and opinion about this. Likewise, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the State Historic Preservation Officer provide assistance on evaluation of sites. HABS/HAER provides information through staff and publications which assist in evaluation.

The National Trails Act of 1968, as amended in 1978 to include historic trails, supplements criteria for evaluation too. In sum, there are many sources of criteria useful in evaluating a transportation corridor and individual sites and historic resources along it.

Finally, data gathering through research should not be given short shrift. It is fundamental in order to establish overall historic significance, and for completing an inventory and evaluation of the corridor. The traveling public now and in the future will be the better informed for it.

Dr. Jere Krakow is a historian with the Denver Service Center, National Park Service.

# Perspectives on Route 66

#### David Gaines Art Gomez

his paper will focus on the historical values which seem to set Route 66 apart from other highways of its time and then leave you with questions to ponder with us and others as we grapple with issues of preservation, commemoration, and interpretation of this 2400-mile transportation route extending from Chicago to Los Angeles.

In September 1990, Congress authorized the National Park Service to conduct a special study to evaluate the significance of Route 66 in American history, to prepare and evaluate options for preserving and interpreting important features related to the highway, and to identify options for preserving and using remaining highway segments. The study act also directed the National Park Service to prepare the study in cooperation with the respective state representatives of associations interested in the preservation of Route 66, and other experts in history and popular culture. The study act stressed the need to consider private sector preservation options and stipulated that there was no intent through the study process to imply that the Park Service was going to assume the maintenance responsibility for the highway.

The year 1992 marks the 66th birthday of the official designation of U.S. Highway 66. Let's look back now and put some perspective on the reasons for the tremendous recent resurgence of national interest in Route 66 as manifested by bi-partisan Congressional action on the study, recent publication of major books, re-recordings of Route 66 tunes, a plethora of television and print media features, documentary films in progress, and the creation of Route 66 associations in each of the eight states crossed by the highway, to name a few recent events.

#### **Early Popularity**

At its core, Route 66 was the foremost route of 20thcentury American migration. The 1970 census revealed the startling fact that for the first time neither the industrialized East nor the agricultural Midwest reigned as the nation's most populous regions. Most Americans, in fact, lived west of the 95th meridian or south of the Mason-Dixon Line. This trend continued in the subsequent decade with increased urbanization of Western cities. The population shift from "snowbelt" to "sunbelt" was seen as early as 1920, but the decades from 1940 to 1960 were clearly unparalleled. The westward migration of the 19th century, including the California Gold Rush, pales in comparison to the population shift in the 1940s and 1950s. U.S. Highway 66 was the most significant of the all-weather highways of post-war America to foster a continuous westward migration.1

Route 66 was the result of public support for a federally funded network of all-weather, transcontinental highways. The origin of Route 66 stemmed from the Federal Aid Highway System Act of 1921 and the subsequent

In 1992, a National Park Service multi-disciplinary planning team composed of Denver Service Center and Southwest Regional Office staff traveled the length of Route 66, examined its resources and alignments, and met with Route 66 enthusiasts, public officials, various organizations, and others—many of whom offered ideas for preserving, managing, and telling the story of the highway. In September 1993, the team presented several preliminary management concepts to the public at meetings that were held between California and Illinois. A draft of the special resource study with alternatives will be prepared after public input is considered and additional resource analysis is completed. The final study, subject to future funding, will be submitted to Congress in late 1994 for its consideration.

adoption of a national road system plan in 1925. Cyrus Avery, an Oklahoma City entrepreneur is credited with conceiving the idea of the diagonal route from Chicago to Los Angeles by way of Oklahoma City, and using his political skill to see its official adoption in what otherwise was a national road plan marked strictly by east-west, and north-south alignments.

Route 66 flourished because of the birth of the modem road system and the dramatic increase in personally-owned motor vehicles in the 1920s. It did not follow a pre-established linear route favored by earlier generations like the Lincoln and other national highways. Route 66 was routed through cities and towns which previously had no access to a major national road. Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona, which were territories until the early-20th century and accordingly had under-developed road networks, now benefited from this national highway, enabling greater access for goods, services, and most importantly, people.

Until 1933, the states were mostly responsible for improving the national highways. All-weather capability was certainly the design intent, but paving was inconsistent. In 1929, Route 66 was entirely paved in Illinois and Kansas, two-thirds paved in Missouri, but only one-fourth paved in Oklahoma. The 1,200-mile western stretch, except for California's urban area, never saw a cement mixer until well into the early 1930s and the Great Depression.

The value of Route 66 to emigrating "Dust Bowlers" during the Depression years is well documented. Writing of the devastated farms and economies of Kansas, Oklahoma, West Texas, and New Mexico, John Steinbeck proclaimed U.S. Highway 66 as the "Mother Road" in his famous 1939 novel and social commentary, The Grapes of Wrath. Combined with John Ford's 1940 classic film recreation of the Joad saga, Route 66 became immortalized in American social consciousness. An estimated 210,000 destitute farmers migrated west to California to escape the Dust Bowl and for those who endured the experience and the generations to whom the journey is recounted, Route 66 has come to symbolize the road to opportunity. One expert said "it was the symbolic river of America moving west in the auto age of the 20th century." It became an "icon of free-spirited independence" and underscored Americans' identity as a people "on the

(**Gaines**—continued from page 21)

move," constantly in search of job opportunities and new beginnings.

#### **Economic Impact**

Perhaps more important than the role of Route 66 as a conduit for escaping the Dust Bowl was its significance in helping Americans recover from the Great Depression. President Roosevelt's New Deal programs, like the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration, contributed greatly to work relief and economic recovery. From 1933 to 1938, thousands of jobless men from virtually every state were put to work as road gang laborers. Route 66 most likely affected more Americans by its association with federal work relief programs than the figures reflected in the Dust Bowl exodus. In 1938, relief workers paved the entire 2,400 miles of Route 66.

With the advent of World War II, Route 66's all-weather capability took on special importance. The War Department targeted the West for development of military training camps in part because of geographic isolation and also because it offered dry weather for uninterrupted training. Several bases were located on or near Route 66 and several mile-long troop and supply convoys were a common sight during the war years.

But, even more significant than its usefulness to the Army, Route 66 contributed to the greatest war mobiliza-

tion effort in American history. The government invested about \$70 billion in capital projects throughout California, much of it in the Los Angeles-San Diego area. This underwrote entirely new defense industries that created unprecedented job opportunities for thousands of men and women. However, by 1942, available local labor along the Pacific coast was exhausted and contractors frantically searched other regions of the country for skilled and unskilled workers. The net result of the subsequent migration was the loss of over one million people from the metropolitan counties of the Northeast during the years 1940 to 1943 with a concurrent population increase of about 39% in California, Oregon, and Washington, Hundreds of thousands of industrial workers journeyed west on Route 66 to the Los Angeles-San Diego area to long-awaited economic salvation.

The dislocation and relocation of millions of Americans that began with the Great Depression and continued through World War II did not stop with the end of the war. Americans were now more mobile than ever. Thousands of servicemen who trained in the sunny climate of the Southwest or who passed through it now abandoned the harsh winters of the Midwest and East for new futures in the West. Adding to the veneration of the "Mother Road" was a musician and ex-Marine named Bobby Troup who composed a lyrical road map while heading west with his wife. The words "get your kicks on Route 66n became the famous catch phrase. One scholar compared the popular song, released in 1946 by Nat King Cole only a week after Troup's Los Angeles arrival, to a "cartographic ballad in the oral tradition of a Homeric legend where the unknown world is given geographic identity through repeated song.

The post-war economic boom greatly helped the largest-ever population shift from the "snowbelt" to the "sunbelt." Census figures for these post war decades show population growth of 40% in New Mexico and 74% in Arizona. Based on the 1980 census, "California displayed the most rapid and sizable population development in the industrialized world in the 40 years following World War II." Los Angeles and San Diego had long before rivaled New York and Philadelphia as the nation's

most rapidly growing conurbations.

World War II changed the American population from a mainly industrial laboring class to an urban-technological society increasingly preoccupied with leisure time pursuits. Americans' passion for auto travel and sightseeing made them ideal targets for service industries that cropped up along Route 66 in unprecedented numbers. Expanded postwar tourism opportunities in the Southwest came in the form of more accessible national park system units and increased recreation on federal, state, and tribal lands. Mass marketing and mass communication, especially through the powerful television medium, helped to expand the public's interest in the Southwest.



Compliments Mohave County (AZ) Chamber of Commerce.

A trip along route 66 was an adventure through main street America, colorfully accentuated by quaint momand-pop motels, bustling all-night diners, garish curio shops with must-see snake pits, and far-too-infrequent gas stations. Commercial roadside architecture and advertising flourished to excess as the entrepreneurial spirit spawned innovative ways to carve out a market niche and part tourists from their money. Route 66's points of interest were familiar landmarks by the time a new generation of motorists hit the road in the 1960s. Some probably drew upon memories from cross-country trips they took with parents or from handed-down stories. Others gained their knowledge from the popular television series entitled "Route 66," or from other popular media.

#### **Decline**

In the end, the increasing public and military demand for rapid mobility and improved highways that earned Route 66 its great popularity in earlier years, signaled its undoing. The outdated, poorly maintained, and congested highway gradually succumbed through the 1960s and 1970s to the more efficient, safer and faster, limited access interstate highway system conceived in 1956. Finally, in 1984, the last designated component of U.S. Route 66 was de-certified as Interstate 40 replaced it at Williams, Arizona. In recent years, Route 66 has become a cultural and social icon to many in part because it helped account for the most significant westward migration of 20th-century America in both real and abstract terms. It helped to link a remote and under-populated region with two vital cities—Chicago and Los Angeles. In so doing, Route 66's free and unrestricted travel qualities helped carry a once inhospitable frontier into the mainstream of modem America. In the abstract sense, Route 66 brought the agricultural-industrial culture of the East and Midwest faceto-face with the trend-setting, technological world of a post-war West. Irreversible cultural change was the result. Route 66's contribution to region and nation must be evaluated in the broader context of American social and cultural history. It was not America's first highway nor was it the longest. But, Route 66 appeared on the scene at the very moment economic disaster and global war influenced the most comprehensive westward migration to occur in American history.

#### **Looking Ahead**

What is the future of Route 66? The answer to that really depends on the degree to which there is broad popular support for preservation and commemoration initiatives. Whether or not the National Park Service is involved, this is a basic ingredient for long-distance trail or route management. There also has to be a common vision and purpose. This is not readily evident now as we speak to various Route 66 supporters. For example, preservation to some means turning Route 66 into a linear national park while to others it means that the Park Service should provide low interest loans or give tax breaks to Route 66 T-shirt shops.

Interpretation means having the Park Service build visitor centers in every Route 66 community or providing foreign language brochures. Commemoration may mean ensuring that Route 66 be consistently marked or amend-

ing the Highway Beautification Act to allow for the reestablishment of ubiquitous billboards. To be sure, there are many supporters and leaders who understand the need to preserve historic resources but the point is that all of these views are being expressed by people belonging to the same groups. No matter what Congress decides, we hope our study will at least identify management objectives that will act as a catalyst for these groups to further define themselves and their common mission.

The fact that most of Route 66 is still extant, though it has many state and local route designations, poses many interesting questions for management. Should it be preserved the way it looks today? Should it be restored to earlier appearances? Should it be permitted to continue to evolve in response to changing economic conditions or transportation requirements? How can consistent management be achieved with so many different management entities and also, so many different local constituencies? Would a national approach to management fly in the face of the historic pattern of state and local management? Since the highway evolved over time with many reroutings across a corridor, should one component of the route weigh more importantly than another or not? Should strict criteria limit what areas are preserved or commemorated so that the historic route is not necessarily continuous?

The cultural landscape along Route 66 is more dynamic than the changes in the roadway itself. What ways exist to mutually influence both the public transportation management sector which tends to be pragmatic and utilitarian in outlook, and the private sector which tends to be self-absorbed with its own needs? How can we bridge the chasm that exists where public right-of-way and private property lines meet in order to fully integrate resource management and interpretation?

It seems obvious that cooperative partnerships offer the greatest potential for effectively dealing with the myriad complexities of managing the diverse resources of Route 66. Whether or not there will be a key federal role by the National Park Service or even the Small Business Administration, remains to be seen. At this juncture, the National Park Service is working objectively to provide Congress with a range of options for its consideration. We encourage everyone, in the meantime, to continue with ongoing research and preservation efforts at the state and local levels, for the current wave of national interest in Route 66 should not just be exploited for its economic potential, but nurtured and harnessed for its long-term potential to help preserve the fabled goose that once, and may yet again, lay the golden egg.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> All-weather highways are designed and paved to be impervious to the effects of rain or snow or runoff and capable of sustaining ongoing vehicle travel with minimal maintenance.

David Gaines is chief, Branch of Long Distance Trails, National Park Service, Santa Fe, NM.

Art Gomez is a historian in the Branch of Long Distance Trails.

# Transportation History and the Louisiana Comprehensive Plan

#### Jonathan Fricker

comprehensive plan is at the very heart of every State Historic Preservation Office. It is the essential mechanism through which office goals and priorities are set. Each unit in the plan describes an important force in

the historical development of the state and denotes historic property types associated with that force. An example might be Midwestern dairy barns as a primary property type representing the important development of dairy farming in Michigan. The plan goes on to set forth goals for preserving significant property types. In developing the Louisiana plan, we identified transportation as one of the broad significant forces that shaped the state's history. After all, the transportation systems available during a given era have much to do

with the way a state develops. For example, prior to the large-scale construction of railroads in Louisiana which began in the 1870s, much of the state was a wilderness. If an area could not be reached by river or bayou, it generally remained undeveloped. Thus, the history of transportation was included as an important unit within Louisiana's Comprehensive Preservation Plan. In our plan, transportation history is divided into three broad phases: The Steamboat Era, 1812-1900; The Railroad Boom, 1870-1940; and The Early Automobile Age, 1910-1940.

#### The Steamboat Era

Today we think of rivers as barriers to travel, but during the antebellum period they were the very arteries of commerce, serving both the plantation system and the needs of urban travelers. The first steamboat appeared on the Mississippi River in 1812. Named the New Orleans, it operated successfully on the lower Mississippi River, but sank due to a boiler explosion in 1814. Steamboats made tremendous gains in the ensuing decades, displacing more primitive craft such as flatboats and barges which could not travel upstream. Steamboats provided the prin-

cipal link between crops on Louisiana plantations and world markets in New Orleans. Cotton was picked, ginned, and compressed into bales on the plantation; it was then shipped out via steamboat. Upon reaching New Orleans, cotton was sold through factoring houses, compressed into even smaller bales by huge steam-powered presses, and loaded onto ocean-going vessels. Steamboats also provided vital passenger service. This was particularly important in New Orleans where those who could afford it vacated the city during the summer to escape the perils of the yellow fever season. Indeed, it has been said in this regard that the residents of the Crescent City were divided into two groups, the "go aways" and the "can't get aways."

As with other aspects of the history of transportation in Louisiana, very little remains to represent this all-important river and bayou commerce. Steamboats themselves have all disappeared, the average life of a ship being about 30 years. In addition, docking and loading facilities have long since vanished. About all that remains is a

handful of historic steamboat warehouses in the Warehouse District in New Orleans. In addition, one rural steamboat warehouse, located in Washington, is known to survive. Finally, a few steamboat towns with historic districts remain along the Mississippi River.



Steamboat Warehouse, built ca 1830, in the New Orleans warehouse district. Photo courtesy John C Ferguson, Division of Historic Preservation, 1990.

#### The Railroad Boom

The coming of railroads to Louisiana was clearly the most significant factor in the decline of steamboat commerce. By the time of the Civil War, trains could average close to 60 miles an hour, over three times as

fast as even the fastest steamboats. In-addition, railroads could go anywhere, not just where there happened to be a convenient river or bayou. Although nine short pioneer rail lines were built in Louisiana prior to the Civil War,



Vicksburg, Shreveport & Pacific station in Arcadia, LA, built 1910. Photo courtesy Division of Historic Preservation.

the "Louisiana Railroad Boom" is essentially a post-Civil War phenomenon. Between about 1880 and 1910, some 5,000 miles of mainline trackage were built in the state, opening sparsely populated areas to settlement and creating railroad towns. In those days, railroads were by far the most desirable form of transportation, and every small town Chamber of Commerce eagerly anticipated the "great day" when a rail line would come. Settlements bypassed by the railroads ceased to thrive and became economic backwaters with small populations. Railroads also played a major role in industrializing the rural parts of the state. Most significantly, they made it possible for industrial lumbering companies to harvest the vast pine forests of northern, central, and western Louisiana. Indeed, during the "Golden Years" of the Louisiana Lumber Boom (1904-1927), some 4.3 million acres of pine forests were cut, reducing much of the state to a vast stumpscape of "worthless" cutover timber land.

There is no doubt that railroads had a tremendous effect on the face of Louisiana, yet little remains in the way of historic properties to represent their influence. Most of the large and impressive urban depots, which would have been the pride of any Louisiana community, have been demolished. About 40, mostly rural, depots survive in Louisiana today. The typical historic Louisiana depot is a single-story frame building with racially segregated waiting rooms at one end and a freight room at the other. These are long, low structures with platforms, broad overhanging eaves, and little ornamentation. Other types of historic properties associated with the great age of railroading in Louisiana include: railroad warehouses (about 20 survive), railroad hotels (perhaps 10 survive), and train sheds (one is known to survive). The reason so little survives is that as railroads declined, related facilities tended to be abandoned. The railroad community of Ruston, LA is a case in point. In the early years of this century, this small city possessed a roundhouse, a railroad foundry and shops, two small buildings in which traveling salesmen (known as "drummers") could display their wares, six depots, and several railroad hotels. Today two small depots and a single railroad hotel are all that remain. And at the time of this writing, the hotel is in deteriorated condition.

#### The Early Automobile Age

When railroading peaked in Louisiana in 1910, with over 5,000 miles of mainline trackage, scarcely anyone would have imagined that railroads would decline almost as quickly as they arose. But as the 20th century progressed, increasing competition from cars and trucks and a publicly-funded highway system took its toll. By 1970 mainline trackage was down to less than 2,000 miles. Thus, the face of Louisiana was changing again, this time due to the coming of the automobile age. It is not known when the first automobile appeared in the state, but in 1909 a world speed record of 60 miles per hour was set in New Orleans which did much to popularize "horseless carriages." Prior to about 1920, few hard surface roads existed outside of Louisiana's major cities. But with the election of progressive Governor John M. Parker in 1919, Louisiana was brought squarely into the automobile age. The Parker administration undertook a major road building program and founded the official



3 V Tourist Courts, built in 1938, St. Francisville, LA. Photo courtesy Division of Historic Preservation.

state highway system. Governor Huey P. Long, Parker's successor, continued this building program, adding features such as major automotive bridges spanning the Mississippi River. And despite the Great Depression, growth in automobile ownership continued to skyrocket, so much so that by 1940 there were nearly 375,000 vehicles registered in the state.

Automobiles changed the look of both urban and rural areas. Rural settlements with general stores ceased to be important because people could drive to town. Cities and towns began to spread along transportation corridors in a manner quite unlike the older and relatively packed railroad towns. During the 1920s and 1930s, Louisianians began to see the now familiar endless transition zone between town and country in which development gradually "peters out."

Historic properties associated with the early automobile age in Louisiana include motor hotels or motels, early gas stations, diners or roadside restaurants, and automobile dealerships. Although no inventory exists, very few of these historic resources are thought to survive. For example, as far as the State Historic Preservation Office is aware, only three historic motel courts remain in Louisiana. The problem is that transportation corridors change so quickly that cultural resources tend to disappear before they are recognized as historic and worthy of preservation. For example, approximately eight years ago, Louisiana's last remaining original 1960s McDonald's restaurant was demolished and replaced after only about 20 years of existence.

As one can see, historic properties with a direct and compelling link with the history of transportation and development are altogether rare. Thus, efforts to preserve them should reflect a coherent and comprehensive statewide strategy. This is why the history of transportation is incorporated as a unit within the Louisiana Comprehensive Historic Preservation Plan. Goals concerning the preservation of related properties include targeting National Register nominations, targeting grant funds for restoration work, and implementing educational and outreach/public awareness programs. Specific objectives for targeted historic resources are drawn up on a yearly basis as part of the Historic Preservation Fund grants cycle. We recommend this overall approach in

(**Fricker**—continued on page 40)

# HABS/HAER Documents Automotive Corridors

#### Sara Amy Leach

n the last decade, the documentation projects undertaken by the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record Division (HABS/HAER) of the National Park Service have gradually come to include non-traditional sites—designed landscapes and cityscapes, the transportation routes passing through them, and the visual aspects of their interaction.

The majority of the resources HABS/HAER has recorded were developed between the end of the nineteenth century and World War II. As such, they contain vestiges of the enthusiasm and affordability of the automobile in which motorists escaped to park preserve, country suburb, or maneuvered through an urban setting. The documentable features of these places include streetscape facades, bridges, roads, and auto-servicing facilities, as well as the ephemeral, non-static elements of landscape design, vegetation, and vistas. Recognizing the threat of contemporary transportation standards to historic roads, roadside structures and settings, HABS/HAER has pursued their documentation within and outside the National Park Service system.

#### **Park Roads**

Beginning in the 1980s, HAER initiated the systematic documentation of historic roads and their related engineering structures in the National Park system. Of ca. 3,300 historic bridges, about 10 percent were evaluated as eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Each summer a HAER team documents the historic bridges of at least one National Park. So far this has included Yellowstone's Loop Road (1989), Glacier's Going-to-the-Sun Road (1990), and miscellaneous structures in Yosemite (1991) and Mount Rainier (1992).

Over five years, HAER's park-road recordings have grown more sophisticated and informative, from

HABS is the oldest federal agency devoted to historic preservation, established in the 1930s as part of the Depression-era makework programs. HABS/HAER's primary activity is documentation of historic sites through measured drawings, large-format photographs, and written history. All materials reside in the HABS/HAER Collection in the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. HABS/HAER standards must also be met by mitigative documentation that is mandated for an historic site slated for alteration, if it is owned by the federal government or federal funds are involved.

straightforward bridge depictions to the inclusion of vistas and backdrops, vegetation, and historic proposals. The drawings explain bridge technology—metal, concrete, covered, truss, suspension—use of materials, and the challenging settings, such as for Box Canyon at Mount Rainier (Fig. 1).

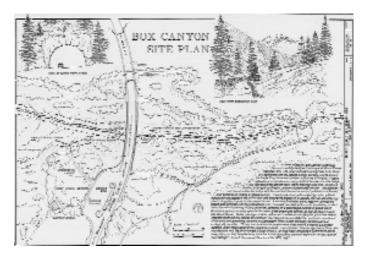


Fig. 1. The Box Canyon site is drawn in plan, showing details of the roadway and setting, from the wood fence, and plantings. Drawn by Julie Ann Dickson. HAER. 1992.

#### **Parkways**

The methodology for a specific associated type of transportation corridor—the linear parkway—evolved out of HAER's bridge documentation and led to HABS/HAER's documentation of the Merritt Parkway (1992) and Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway (1991-92)¹; currently HABS is working on the George Washington Memorial and Clara Barton parkways. The Park Roads and Bridges Program - Engineering and Safety Services Division, has funded HABS/HAER's documentation of NPS-owned parkways and its park-bridge projects as a preliminary step toward rehabilitation.

Though most parkways are just now qualifying as technically "historic," more than a half-century of wear, tear, and changing automotive technology is a growing threat. Uncontrolled or unmanaged plant growth has diminished their beauty and integrity. As legally defined parkways, these routes share characteristics that differentiate them from highways: bans on 1) commercial traffic, 2) unsightly roadside blight, 3) access rights, and 4) at-grade intersections. They retain: 5) variable-width medians, 6) native scenery, 7) a generous right-of-way, and 8) interchanges that are few and far between. Though by definition park roads and parkways are devoid of commercial buildings, requisite auto service stations were rendered tolerable by Colonial Revival and rustic styling. When possible, such roadside architecture is documented as part of the historic corridor.

A sequence of bridges found along linear resources—both carrying the road and crossing overhead—lend themselves to delineations in elevation—often using original construction drawings to create "postern sheets (Fig. 2). Aligned at the same scale and seen consecutively, the images convey the motorists' and pedestrians' viewpoint and their experiential relationship to the parkway. An important component of these properties are the non-

vehicular foot and bike paths that winds along adjacent to the auto lanes, complete with pedestrian bridges.

#### **Urban Thoroughfares**

Tackling projects of a greater and greater urban nature, HABS took on the task of surveying and recording the historic landscape of the L'Enfant-McMillan Plan of Washington, D.C. (1990-93), the congested city core laid out as a matrix of orthogonal numbered and lettered

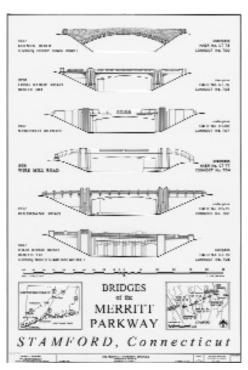


Fig. 2. Eight of the Merritt Parkway's many unique bridges are organized as a "poster" sheet. Drawn by HAER Team, 1992.

repeatedly redesigned, and in some cases pared away to improve traffic safety. Most of these sites belong to the National Park Service.

designed,

As inventoried, contributing elements include the topography, historic and current plantings, curbing and paths, minor buildings, and related street furniture seating, fountains, statuary, trash receptacles, and light standards. These features are depicted using map overlays, landscape plans, intersection analyses (Fig. 3); historic, contemporary, and aerial photographs.

This project, initiated to coincide with the celebration of the 200th birthday of the capital, was conceived as the basis for nominating the open space of this extant plan and its three-dimensional vistas as a City Landmark and National Historic Landmark, a process that is underway. Its sponsorship united the private sector, and federal and city interests, with funding provided by the Morris & Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation, D.C. Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs - Office of Historic Preservation, and National Capital Region-NPS, with the help of the National Park Foundation Inc.

Park roads, parkways, and historic urban plans are automotive transportation corridors that share the risk of ruination by increasing density of use and higher speed limits. The lack of completion documentation or mainte-

streets combined with a series of wide, diagonal avenues. Traditionally, the plan credited to Pierre L'Enfant in 1791 has been studied as a whole or with an emphasis on the downtown, monumental Mall, but HABS instead focused its attention on the evolution of large neighborhood parks and minor 'parklets" as they were

Fig. 3. Three major types of parks that result where diagonal avenues intersect with the orthogonal street grid. Drawn by Sandra Leiva, HABS, 1991.

nance plans for such an ephemeral site makes it all the harder to reconstruct the attributes of an historic roadscape once it is lost. HABS/HAER has successfully worked with concerned federal, state, and private authorities to study some of the country's finest roads, preserving through documentation what cannot be recreated, while laying the foundation for preservation planning down the road.

#### Notes

See Croteau and Leach, CRM, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1993), pp. 3-4 and 5-7; and Leach, CRM, Vol. 16, No. 6 (1993), pp. 40-42)

Sara Amy Leach has been a historian with the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER) Division, National Park Service, since 1988. An architectural historian interested in automobile-related resources, she has led HABS projects that investigate the historic landscape of the L'Enfant-McMillan Plan of Washington, D.C., Rock Creek and Potomac, George Washington Memorial and Clara Barton parkways in Washington; and the New Jersey Coastal Heritage Trail. Prior to joining HABS, she worked in the National Capital Region-NPS and as a consultant, preparing National Register nominations for the Baltimore-Washington Parkway and Civilian Conservation Corps-built campgrounds.

# Listed in the National Register of Historic Places ...

#### Beth L. Savage

he National Register of Historic Places presently consists of over 61,000 listings including districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects encompassing nearly 900,000 significant cultural resources, some of which are integral elements of vast corridors reflecting important themes in the history of transportation. Inherent in the nature and administrative framework of the National Register program and its partnership with well over 100 state and federal historic preservation offices is a tendency to recognize historic transportation corridor-related components in a compartmentalized manner, predominantly in local or statewide contexts. The Historic Transportation Corridors Conference presented the opportunity to place the majority of the National Register listed properties into a larger, systems context because defining historic transportation corridors is often regional, national or international in scope.

One definition of a historic transportation corridor put forth at the recent conference contends that:

the historic transportation corridor is the linear, character-defining thread that binds together a cohesive landscape of sites, buildings, structures and objects integrally related to or affected by the corridor that have a variety of values along a historic continuum. The evidence of human use or activity along the historic transportation corridor is examined through the identification and evaluation of an amalgamation of the following possible characteristics: land uses and activities; patterns of spatial organization; responses to the natural environment, cultural traditionscirculation networks; boundary demarcations- vegetation related to land use- buildings, sites (archeological and historic) structures and objects; and small scale elements.

For over 200 years the United States relied on ships as connective links of the nation. The theme of maritime transportation is represented in the National Register by historic vessels, canals, light station complexes, commercial and industrial ports, shipyards, marine railways, etc. The strategic locations of aids to navigation and lifesaving stations further delineate coastal and inland maritime transportation corridors.

Built in 1933 for the Alaska Railroad for service on the Yukon, Nenana and Tanana Rivers in Alaska, *Nenana*, is the only United

States steamboat preserved in Alaska, and one of only five surviving western river steamboats. For this reason Nenana was designated a National Historic Landmark. Photo courtesy of the Alaska Department of Natural Resources.





Many state's and some federal agencies have systematically surveyed and nominated lighthouses under their jurisdiction. The Light Stations of Maine multiple property nomination recognizes the significance of light stations along the State's 2,500 mile coastline, along the banks of two rivers and in one lake, within the context of it's maritime transportation history. The light stations are characterized as complexes consisting of a combination of the following features: light towers, dwellings, bell houses, fog signals, boathouses, oil houses and walkways. Established in 1853 as a guide to Carvers Harbor and Hurricane Sound, the Heron Neck Light Station is a component of the system of navigational aids located in and around Penobscot Bay. Light tower, keeper's dwelling and fog signal building at Heron Neck Light Station. Photo by Frank Beard, Maine Historic Preservation Commission.

Linking coastal and inland industrial and commercial markets, historically canals played a crucial role as engineering feats and

transportation corridors during the first half of the 19th century. The Illinois and Michigan Canal, linking Chicago to the Mississippi River, completed a continuous waterway to New York City and made Chicago a leading midwestern grain and meatpacking center. The I & M Canal, designated the first (of now four) National Heritage Corridors in

1984 in an



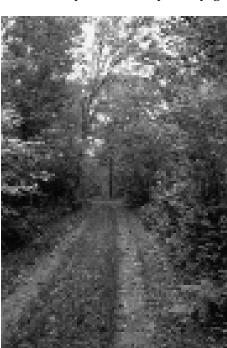
effort "...to retain, enhance and interpret the cultural, historic, natural recreational and economic resources of the corridor," was documented by the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record from 1985 to 1988. Restored and working I & M Canal lock at Channahon, Illinois. Photo courtesy of the Illinois Department of Conservation.



Originally listed in the National Register in the early 1970s, the Blackstone Canal was recently resurveyed in its entirety and revised documentation prepared. The preserved canal sections combined with the lost sections chart the route of an important transportation corridor whose varied path reflects engineering decisions based on technology and topography. The canal is a historic archeological site and engineering structure that links the period of industrialization with the preindustrial era of maritime commerce and subsistence farming which preceded it. The history of the canal is interpreted within the context of the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor, a 46-mile long corridor from Worcester, MA, to Providence, RI, designated by Congress in 1986. East wall of Blackstone Canal Providence, RI. Photo from National Register nomination documentation.

Overland transportation is represented by listed trails, military roads, turnpikes, railroad-related properties, highways and parkways. Listed portions of overland trails and military roads reflect frontier exploration, western emigration, communication, and commerce, as well as transportation.

The seven military wagon roads built throughout Minnesota under the auspices of the Corps of Topographical Engineers are



listed in the National Register as part of the multiple property nomination entitled Minnesota Military Roads, 1850-1875. The nomination documents the regional importance of the roads which represent a major phase in the development of Minnesota's transportation infrastructure, the importance of which declined in the 1870s with the coming of the railroad. A surviving section of the Point Douglas to Superior Military

Road, located in Chisago County, MN. Photo by Demian Hess, courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The railroad era is well represented by passenger and freight depots, roundhouses, bridges, shops, switching stations, tunnels, locomotives, and railroad track beds.

Eight movable railroad bridges nominated as a thematic group delineate the historical development of Connecticut's



most important rail corridor, the shoreline route of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. The New Haven, as it was known, was one of the busiest freight and passenger carriers in the nation and had a near monop-

oly on Connecticut rail traffic. The bridges are substantial works of engineering which were essential to the turn-of-thecentury upgrading of the line and representative of the period in their use of steel riveted joints, heavy structural members and the leading types of drawbridges. The Devon Bridge over the Housatonic River is one of three through truss Scherzer rolling lift bascule bridges along the northeast corridor. Photo by Historic Resources Consultants, National Register nomination.

The remains of the roadbed of the Georgetown Loop Railroad between Georgetown and Silver Plume, CO, are listed in the National Register for the railroad's importance as a popular tourist attraction and an engineering feat connecting the two silver mining towns. Photo by Ken Malone, National Register nomination.

The Missouri-Pacific Railroad Depot in



Arkadelphia, AR, represents the Mediterranean style that was the architectural idiom of choice for many railroad lines that



traversed
Arkansas during
the early 20th
century, especially the
Missouri-Pacific.
This passenger
and freight
depot was nominated to the
National
Register as a
component of
the multiple

(Savage—continued on page 30)

Savage—continued from page 29)

property nomination of railroad depots statewide. Photo by Barbara Lindsey-Allen, National Register nomination.

Roads, highways, parkways and a variety of roadside building types convey the dramatic impact of the automobile age on the American landscape.

Built over a 10-year period from 1913 to 1922, at the emergence of the automobile era, the Columbia River Highway was



a technical achievement in the early application of cliff-face road construction. The intact 55 miles of the original 73.5 miles of the highway corridor are listed in the National Register as an outstanding example of highway engineering sympathetic to the natural landscape of the Columbia River Gorge. In the gorge the highway includes a series of concrete bridges and viaducts, tunnels, rock parapets, overhanging rock bluffs, pedestrian overlooks and other engineering features which were acclaimed for engineering distinction as well as scenic qualities. At the time of its construction, the highway was called the world's finest scenic drive, a "poem in stone" and the "king of roads." When the Multnomah County portion was paved in 1916, it was the first major paved highway in the Northwest. Dignitaries at the Sheppard's Dell Bridge on the Columbia River Highway on opening day, 1915. Photo courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.

Listed parkways are located in CO, TN, CT, OH, TX, DE, MD and NY. Approximately two-thirds of the original expanse, or 10 miles encompassing approximately 799 acres, of what is known as the Bronx River Parkway Reservation is listed in the



National Register for its importance in the areas of conservation, transportation, landscape architecture, architecture, and engineering. Constructed between c.1913 and 1930, the parkway reser-

vation is an early and outstanding example of its type, a limited access automobile parkway. The Bronx River Parkway illustrates the following definitive features of the type: restricted

access, smooth driving surfaces, the elimination of cross traffic, grading of land and rerouting of natural features, all to facilitate faster more efficient travel over longer distances. Bronx River Parkway Reservation, Popham Road Bridge looking northeast. Photo by Dick Lederer, National Register nomination.

Segments of the Lincoln Highway, the country's first transcontinental highway, have been listed in the National Register. Surveys of the Lincoln Highway are currently ongoing

in several states. A segment near Omaha, NE, was listed as a surviving portion of the 1920s brick road. In response to the threat of road widening, several stretches of



**LINCOLN** 



the Lincoln Highway in Greene County, IA, have been listed recently as components of a multiple property nomination. Lincoln Highway-Raccoon River segment, Greene County, IA. Photo by Rebecca Conard, Lincoln Highway Preservation Group.

Abandoned, rural and urban segments of Historic US Route 66 in Arizona have been listed in the National Register within the context of transportation and tourism in northern Arizona c. 1920 to 1944.

The multiple property nomination was prepared by the United States Forest Service. The urban 0.6-mile section of US Route 66 that passed through Williams, AZ, was listed for its significant associations with the state road build-



ing program and the development of the town's tourist trade. Numerous other statewide nominations of segments of US Route 66 are currently in preparation in states through which the route passes. Urban Route 66: Williams c. 1940. Historic photo, National Register nomination.

Beth L. Savage is an architectural historian with the National Register of Historic Places, Interagency Resources Division, Washington. She serves on the Board of Directors of the Society for Commercial Archeology and the Lincoln Highway Association. She is currently researching a future National Register Bulletin on linear, road-related resources.

# Cultural Diversity and Place Preservation

#### Setha M. Low

n this presentation I argue that the preservation of historic corridors is an important aspect of place preservation that can promote a culturally rich and diverse environment. Preserving cultural resources such as historic transportation corridors is based on the notion that the cultural landscape is valued and encodes important elements of our biophysical, social, and cultural history. Place is space made culturally meaningful, and in this sense provides both the context and symbolic cues for our everyday behavior and cultural activities. Thus, places are not just an environment, but an integral part of social

interaction and cultural process.
Without place preservation, the contexts for culturally meaningful behaviors disappear, cutting us off from our past, disrupting the present, and limiting the possibilities for the future.

It is hard to imagine cultural behavior without its culturally-appropriate place. It's true, this can occur—we all create makeshift facsimiles of an ideal world; but try to picture Pueblo cultural life without the richness of Pueblo

architecture or the difficulty of socializing your children without a home. We grieve when we experience the loss of place as has been documented for the residents of the West End of Boston or the shock of losing Penn Station for New York City residents. The loss of place is not just the architectural loss, but the cultural and personal loss in terms of what we as a society provide as meaningful environments of human action and expression. If we do not provide supportive environments, or at the very least, allow them to exist, we can actually eliminate the cultural diversity that we are trying to preserve. Place is critical to social and cultural reproduction and thus must be considered as part of our mission

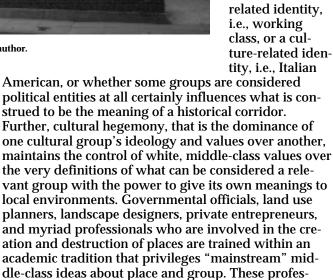
The practice of place preservation, however, is complex and often problematic—and particularly so when attempting to define and preserve a historic corridor—

in that place is: politically as well as culturally constructed; pluralistic, reflecting a diversity of cultures; and constantly changing in that cultures are dynamic and fluid, and therefore cannot be frozen in time and space without endangering future cultural expressions. The moment that a move is made to conserve a historic corridor, a number of alternative political, social, and cultural uses of a location may be eliminated such that the ramifications of all such choices must be carefully examined and evaluated. Questions emerge about who is to judge the importance of a cultural resource, and who benefits or suffers with regard to the preservation or eradication of that resource. Even more importantly, the planning and design processes that are developed to implement historic corridor preservation often introduce problems and conflicts as well. I will outline some of the ways that preserving places presents new challenges and solutions in the remainder of this talk.

#### **Politics**

One important concern when discussing any kind of cultural or historic preservation is that labels and con-

cepts such as culture or ethnicity are politically as well as culturally constructed and manipulated for a variety of ends. We are not dealing with static, definable attributes that can be measured or codified, but with definitions and identities that are negotiated, fluid, and contextdependent. Whether a group takes on a classrelated identity. i.e., working class, or a culture-related identity, i.e., Italian



sionals maintain the authority and decisionmaking

power to define how a place should look, but also des-



Victorian summer cottage, Cape May, NJ. Photo by the author.

ignate which group's inscriptions of place will be considered valid.

Another political issue is whether planning and design reinforce traditional power relations and conflicts of race, class, and gender as well as cultural inequality. These inequalities are expressed in the cultural and historic

landscape through decisions that allocate space to those with political and/or economic power, while at the same time those without power lose their communities through development processes that favor one group over another or vested interests. The gentrification that has occurred in small towns and rural communities associated with their designation as historic landmarks and/or protected regions are examples of how planning decisions



Children playing in Farnham Park, Camden, NJ. Photo by the author.

restructure the use as well as the allocation of space with a delirious impact on poor and disenfranchised residents.

A third political issue concerns our roles as professionals working with local communities. There are significant differences in professional verses local cultural control of historic preservation and design. The professional community of planners, designers, historians, and social scientists who provide the knowledge base for preservation and design guidelines do not necessarily value the same places as the local community. While professionals are trained to be spokespersons for local communities, design and planning education also espouses a set of professional culture beliefs and practices that limit communication and understanding. This breakdown in communication often goes unnoticed as the two groups use the same words and appear to speak the same language. For instance, I undertook a project in Oley, PA, where historic landscape designation had stripped the local residents' ability to define the landscape in their own terms. By developing a method to translate the languages of the architectural historians, designers, and the local community, communication about their different design goals and values was made possible.

#### **Pluralism**

The culture of a place is never singular, but made up of a cultural mosaic built upon a multiplicity of histories, voices and peoples. Whenever we talk about a historic corridor, we must ask the question "whose culture?" or "whose tradition or history?" in order to make clear even to others what or whom we are talking about. As I have

mentioned in the discussion of cultural hegemony, some of these voices are never heard. Particularly in the United States it is difficult to think of a place as having a dominant culture because of the complex nature of our society. Yet the expression of this plurality is difficult to achieve, especially in terms of place where the demands of conflicting and contrasting taste cultures may dictate very different scenarios that are often mutually exclusive.

An example of mutually exclusive land uses is the conflict over the adaptive reuse of the Manayunk mill buildings in Philadelphia in the development of a historic canal pathway. The city and outside entrepreneurs wanted to use these buildings for restaurants and boutiques to attract tourists and new residents. while the local neighborhood wanted to use these sites to attract light industry back into the

area. The demands of the local neighborhood were overlooked in the final planning process because of the incompatibility of industry with the gentrified shops and amenities. The historic corridor created by the reconditioned walkway along the canal and river was defined by outside conceptions of what should be represented rather than taking into consideration the needs and definitions of the local community.

Planning and design projects have a tendency to reduce rather than maintain cultural diversity. They also reduce the spectrum of cultural experience by designing for a targeted group of people or for a particular "look." An example of how diversity is limited is found in the similarity of Rouse's harbor developments in Boston, Baltimore and New York, that despite their regional external character contain the same shops, restaurants and services thus attracting the same tourists and middle-class locals regardless of the location. By targeting tourists and their preference for a "middle-class" experience, the otherwise economically invigorating projects limit the cultural diversity that is presented as well as the population invited to participate.

#### **Cultural Change**

The problems of politics and plurality refer to the privileging of one culture over another or not including all cultural groups in the determination of historic corridor designation, planning and design. But there is another even more serious problem facing us especially in terms of preserving historic corridors, and this is the reality that culture is not static, but is always changing. Cultural

groups are fluid; even the values and beliefs of traditional societies change dramatically over time. So when a corridor is designed, cultural elements are fixed in the physical environment that may have already changed, and no longer represent the people who live in or use that environment.

It is an ongoing dilemma and in this case preservation, planning, and design processes privilege the past yet the new is the tradition of the future. How do we preserve historic corridors through planning and design while acknowledging that culture changes and that the groups whose cultures are being expressed will change as well? I find this dilemma ironic, in that as we work to help a community save some aspect of the local environment, we are also precluding other choices that may better accommodate the future.

How then can we maintain cultural diversity and cultural sensitivity while identifying, defining, and preserving historic corridors? One possible solution is the development of methodologies that incorporate the cultural mosaic of communities. For instance, Randolph Hester (1984,1985) has developed a methodology for working with rural towns that includes the townspeople in the data collection and analysis phase in order to identify their own "sacred spaces." These sacred spaces then become a focus for the redesign and renovation of the community; the identified spaces are preserved and highlighted in the town masterplan, thus preserving the town's most culturally meaningful elements.

Another methodology that deals with cultural plurality is constituency analysis (Low 1981a, 1981b, 1985) used in a planning project of Farnham Park in Camden, NJ. Developed as part of a landscape architecture studio at the University of Pennsylvania, the methodology involves the segmentation of community members into subcultures, that is, groups that have differing opinions and values orientations on issues related to the redesign of the park. The community was thus segmented into over 10 distinct groups and plans were developed for their individual needs and desires. The final phase of the project integrated the different plans through a political negotiation process. The benefit of the method was that subculture diversity was maintained throughout the planning process, rather than being lost in the first phase when one group would normally have been selected to represent the whole.

Other preservation strategies use cultural symbols as a way to maintain a sense of cultural identity in the design and planning of a neighborhood. one example is the redesign of buildings and sidewalk details in Philadelphia's Chinatown where pagodas are found atop telephone booths. Chinese gates mark the entrance to the area, and buildings by Venturi have Chinese detailing on balconies and entrances. Symbols can add an important dimension to a project without necessarily excluding other uses of the space. So, although they are not a permanent way to preserve a place, they provide an intermediate level of maintaining cultural diversity and local community spatial identity.

Cultural re-interpretation in design, that is, the re-use of culturally important buildings for contemporary uses is still another strategy for preserving places while maintaining cultural diversity. In beach communities, such as Cape May, NJ, Victorian summer cottages are

maintained and preserved by re-designing their interiors to accommodate rental use. Others have been turned into restaurants, guest houses and tourist shops. Cape May thus has been able to conserve its architectural heritage and cultural identity while providing diversity of use for a wider variety of people.

Local cultural adaptation, that is, design that provides cultural meanings through means that are ecologically and/or socioculturally adaptive are a final method for dealing with place preservation and cultural meaning. Cultural groups often transplant elements from their native environments to new locations that have pre-existing cultural traditions and incompatible environments. In some cases, the newly-introduced cultural elements can have a deleterious effect on the environment such as the desire to have water-dependent grass lawns in Tucson, AZ. A local cultural adaptation that responds both to the ecological problem of water shortages and the desire to maintain the cultural symbol is the emergence of green rock front lawns or cement front lawns painted green. These clever adaptations of the original symbolic form reconstituted within the constraints of the local environment suggest how cultural forms can survive even in hostile surroundings.

#### Conclusion

I would like to emphasize three points:

- Maintaining cultural diversity in the landscape is an inseparable part of preserving historic corridors, but entails designation, planning, and design decisions that generate a new set of problems to be considered.
- These problems—the political, pluralistic, and changeable qualities of culture and cultural groups—must be attended to in order to produce more informed preservation decisions.
- There are many solutions including methodological, symbolic, and interpretation strategies that may help to maintain the cultural diversity that is so important to our cultural heritage.

#### References

Hester, R.T. (1984) Planning Neighborhood Space with People. New York: Von Rostrand Reinhold.

Hester, R.T. (1985) Twelve steps to community development. Landscape Architecture 75(1):78-85.

Low, S.M. (1981a) Anthropology as a new technology in landscape planning. Proceedings of the Regional Section of the American Society of Landscape Architecture. J. Fabos, ed. Washington, DC, November.

Low, S.M. (1981b) Social science methods in landscape architecture design. *Landscape Planning* 3(2):137-148.

Low, S.M. (1985) Teaching innovation in the social and cultural basis of landscape architecture. Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture Forum on Teaching and Instructional Development in Landscape Architecture. R.R. Stoltz, ed. School of Landscape Architecture, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada.

Dr. Setha M. Low is a professor of Environmental Psychology and Anthropology in the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York.

## Corridors As Cultural Landscapes

### **Selma to Montgomery National Trail**

#### **Barbara Tagger**

n July 1990, Congress enacted the Selma to Montgomery National Trail Study Act directing the National Park Service (NPS) to study the route traveled by voting rights activists in 1965 from Selma to Montgomery, AL. The objective of this study is the determination of the route's eligibility for designation as a National Historic Trail. If designated, the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail will be the first African-American historic trail in the national park system.

As required by the study act, the route has been evaluated under the authority and requirements of the National Trail System Act which provides for national scenic and national historic trails. In 1968, Congress passed the National Trails System Act, designating the Appalachian and Pacific Crest Trails as initial components. The purpose of the Act was to create a national trail system consisting of scenic and recreation components. The Act was amended in 1978 to include national historic trails so that trails of historic and cultural significance might also be preserved.

To qualify as a national historic trail, certain criteria have been established as a means to evaluate potential routes. National historic trails are original routes of national significance in American history; these routes must be identifiable and have a potential for public education or recreation. A determination of the route's eligibility for national historic trail status has now been completed, and the route has been judged to meet all criteria. In addition, the designation of a connecting trail from Marion to Selma is recommended to characterize the significant role played by area residents. The Selma to Montgomery route is not eligible for national scenic trail status since it is less than 100 miles in length.

#### **Historic Background**

The American civil rights movement as it relates to African Americans has traditionally been identified with the protest activities of the 1950s and 1960s. Recent generations most commonly associate it with protest marches led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the boycotts and sit-in activities by African Americans and whites in the Deep South. The movement's origin is frequently associated with the landmark Supreme Court case, Brown v. Board of Education (1954), which declared racial segregation in public education unconstitutional. Although such events were significant, the civil rights movement was not spontaneous. Decades of activity prior to the Brown decision set the stage for the momentous events of the 1950s and 1960s, and are a significant part of the civil rights movement. After years of legal maneuvering, the marches, sit-ins, and rallies were able to focus the nation's attention on the plight of African Americans, and several landmark federal laws were the result.

The Selma to Montgomery march was only one protest, but it stands out because of its purpose—voting rights. Full citizenship and voting rights had been long denied to minorities in the United States, and the quest for political rights was an obvious progression after the desegregation of public accommodations in 1964. Through widespread media coverage, the

Congress, the President, and the American people saw the determination and strength of the Selma protesters as they endured violence and adversity. Their cause was adopted by many, resulting in a massive march and a rush to enact strong legislation which would guarantee the right to vote for all citizens.

As early as the colonial era, African Americans strove to be recognized as citizens of this nation. Despite the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and a constitution, the fundamental principles of democracy, freedom, and justice did not apply to all Americans. The right to vote, which is a precious privilege in a democratic society, was denied to most Americans including women, Native Americans, freed blacks and slaves. For African Americans, in particular, the struggle to gain voting privileges would last well into the 20th century.

During the early decades of the 1800s, the platform of the civil rights movement emphasized abolition of slavery and the acquisition of citizenship rights for freedmen. Led by activists such as Frederick Douglass and Martin Delaney, African Americans petitioned the federal government and the Supreme Court for citizenship rights. In 1857, this plea fell on deaf ears when the Supreme Court declared in the Dred Scott case that black Americans were not United States citizens. This sentiment coupled

with the heated slavery debates instigated a civil war in the nation that eventually led to the destruction of slavery.

At the conclusion of the Civil War, the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments were added to the Constitution which secured blacks liberty, citizenship, and voting privileges respectively. During Reconstruction, blacks were elected to public office on local, state and federal levels. But this progress was temporary as white southerners recaptured political power, and blacks were continuously denied social and economic rights. Thus by the 1900s, African Americans had lost all privileges that had been gained.

In an effort to regain citizenship rights, civil rights organizations such as the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the **Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP), were established to attack the legal system in hope of acquiring political and social rights for African Americans. But after using this method for nearly 50 years, courtroom battles were not enough. Consequently, the need for immediate and direct change prompted many black Americans to use different methods, including mass demonstrations, sit-ins, and boycotts. Mass demonstrations proved to be forceful and effective when the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) used non-violent resistance to desegregate public facilities during the early

Beginning in May 1991, historical research was conducted using primary and secondary sources, and an oral history project was initiated to obtain further information on the 1965 Selma to Montgomery march. Meetings with public and government officials were also used to identify significant sites and events as well as possible ways to commemorate the famous march. Public meetings were held in Selma, Hayneville, Marion, and Montgomery. A public information brochure to introduce the study was distributed in August 1991, and other interested parties had been informed of the study's progress.

The proposed trail has received strong support as indicated by the attendance at public meetings and the number of written comments received. Comments have included support for the trail in general as well as specific suggestions for museums, commemorative activities, and ideas for relating the Selma to Montgomery march to other civil rights activities.

Based on the study's research and public involvement, four implementation alternatives for the proposed Selma to Montgomery Trail have been prepared. These alternatives include: **Alternative A:** Authorize a national historic trail along public roadways with interpretive center in Selma or Montgomery;

**Alternative B:** Authorize a national historic trail as conventional trail paralleling the actual route;

Alternative C: Authorize a national historic trail along public roadways and provide technical assistance to facilitate non-federal management;

**Alternative D:** No federal action.

A final study report with recommendations, alternatives based on study findings, public comments, determinations, and cost estimates has been submitted to the Congress. Only the Congress is authorized to designate the Selma to Montgomery route as a national historic trail. In the event designation occurs, a comprehensive management plan for the new trail will be developed in cooperation with state and local governments as well as private citizens and organizations.

Barbara Tagger is a historian in the National Park Service Southeast Region, Atlanta, GA.

1940s. By the 1950s and 1960s, other civil rights groups such as the Southern Conference Leadership Conference (SCLC) used this method to force federal, state and local governments to reconsider their views on civil rights. All of these organizations focused their agendas on securing voting rights as the best method of gaining civil liberties for African Americans.

Although the federal government guaranteed voting rights to African Americans through civil rights legislation, many were still denied access to the political process. Voting discrimination continued in the South as blacks were subjected to violence, economic retaliation, literacy tests, and poll taxes. In 1964, civil rights groups joined forces to form the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to educate blacks about their citizenship and register them to vote. As a result of their efforts, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) was formed to challenge the all-white Democratic Party of Mississippi. Even though the MFDP failed to win official recognition, it gave African Americans in Mississippi the opportunity to participate in the political process.

While black voters were struggling for representation in Mississippi, a similar struggle was going on in Dallas County, AL, and its county seat, Selma. On three separate occasions in March of 1965 protesters attempted to march from Selma to Montgomery, to high-

light the discriminatory practices which prevented African Americans from voting in the Deep South. As federal judicial proceedings failed to produce changes in the registration process, African-American leaders, including SNCC and SCLC, united in a direct action campaign focused at the heart of the Black Belt—Selma, AL.

After a series of protests in Selma and the death of Jimmie Lee Jackson in nearby Perry County, African-American leaders came upon the idea of marching from Selma to the state capital in Montgomery to formally protest continued voter discrimination. On Sunday, March 7, 1965, the first march set out from Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church toward Montgomery, but when the marchers reached the Edmund Pettus Bridge, they were brutally attacked by law enforcement officers. Known as Bloody Sunday, the attack of the civil rights workers in Selma was seen by millions of people through the comprehensive media coverage accorded to the campaign. Although a second march to Montgomery was peacefully turned around at the same bridge, a third attempt beginning March 21 successfully reached Montgomery after a five-day trek under the watchful eye of federalized national guardsmen. As the protesters marched toward the state capital, a platform had been erected for civil rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who later urged the audience

to continue their struggle against racism, segregation, violence and poverty.

Shortly after the rally, protesters dispersed and returned home. One civil worker, Viola Liuzzo, a white homemaker from Detroit, MI, volunteered to shuttle marchers back to Selma. On a return trip to Montgomery, Liuzzo and black civil rights activist, Leroy Moton, were attacked on Highway 80 by four Ku Klux Klan members from Birmingham. Mrs. Liuzzo was shot and killed while driving, and Moton was able to escape unharmed. The senseless murder was investigated by the FBI, and the perpetrators were arrested and tried for their actions. After escaping a local conviction, the Klansmen were convicted on federal charges by the U.S. Department of Justice.

In August 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Federal officials poured into the South to register African Americans who had been denied access to the ballot. As a result of the Selma movement, political life in the South was forever changed, and voting rights are now the privilege of all citizens, regardless of race, creed, or color. The Selma to Montgomery march is remembered as a symbol for all Americans representing the power of the ballot and its meaning in our democracy.

### The Juan Bautista de Anza National **Historic** Trail

#### **Donald T. Garate**

nce planning and implementation are complete in the establishment of any historic trail or corridor, it falls to interpreters along the route to bring history to life and provide meaning and relevance to both the casual visitor and the dedicated historian. Appreciation for cultural diversity is an absolute must in this interpretation something that has not always existed in the past. This presentation will focus on efforts to interpret that cultural diversity on the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic

Trail. Even though this trail is, of course, unique, the problems and challenges faced along its 1,800-mile length are probably similar to trails everywhere. For those of us at places like Tumacacori (Arizona) where these trails run in the front door and out the back, we are faced with needing to be able to effectively interpret their history immediately upon passage of the legislation, when the public learns there is a new historic trail.

#### **Trail History**

Before discussing the interpretive challenges, a brief history of the trail will be presented for those who are not familiar with it. To begin, Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail is actually a misnomer. It should be the Juan Bautista de Anza International Historic Trail since over one third of it lies in Mexico. There is an effort being made at this

time to interest Mexico in joining us in establishing it as an international trail. Beyond that, the famous expedition from which it gets its name was financed in its entirety by Spain. So this trail has three modern nations that should be its sponsors, plus all the Native American nations along the route.

In January 1774, Juan Bautista de Anza set out from what is today Tubac, AZ, with about 30 soldiers, mule-

teers and cowboys to find an overland route to the Rio San Francisco in upper California. On the first part of his journey he followed the existing Camino Real. Going down the Gila River he was actually following a trail that Juan de Onate had traveled 170 years before. And, much of the way he followed bits and pieces of Native American foot trails. He even had a Native American guide who had just walked from California to Sonora. What Anza did was tie the entire route into one passage. He accomplished the desired goal, then rode back down to Mexico City and reported his success to the Viceroy. There he was given orders to conduct a group of colonists to Alta California to establish the colony that eventually became the city of San Francisco.

Anza requested permission to take families from Culiacan, Sinaloa, because there were many poor people there whom he felt could make a new and better life for themselves at the newly discovered port. When he was gathering the colonists (to put this in perspective) in the summer of 1775, one year prior to the signing of the

Declaration of Independence on the East Coast, Culiacan had been a European city for over 200 years.

Beginning at Culiacan and working his way north, Anza gathered peothe international border in pack mules and beef cattle

ple in Sinaloa and Sonora, with the final gathering point at the Presidio of Tubac, where Anza had been presidial captain for many years. Tubac was then in Sonora but is now about 20 miles north of Arizona. By this time the first members of the expedition had already traveled 600 miles. The group left there on October 23,1775. There were 240 people and just under 1,000 head of livestock, including saddle horses, for eating. For this traveling caravan they carried 13 tents, so as you can imagine, most people slept outside every night. And there was not a single wagon. Supplies were packed and unpacked on

and off of the mules every day.

In the 1,200 miles and 80 days travel from Tubac, the expedition had one death. Maria Manuela Pinuelas died the first night out at a place they called La Canoa, giving birth to her eighth child. The child lived, however, and there were two other live births along the way. Thus, of the 240 people who left for California, 242 reached their destination.



Drawn by Don Bufkin.

#### The Anza Route Today

This 1,200-mile trail was designated by Congress in August 1990. The trail route is based on Anza's 1775-76 expedition from what is now Mexico to San Francisco, which resulted in the founding of the presidio and mission at San Francisco. It enters the U.S. in Nogales, AZ, and follows the Santa Cruz River north to join the Gila River which it follows to the Yuma crossing of the Colorado. It continues west and north through the Yuha and Borrego Deserts and crosses the mountains to arrive at San Gabriel Mission. From there, the expedition followed known Spanish, and before them Indian, trails to Monterey and on to San Francisco.

The National Park Service is currently preparing the Comprehensive Management and Use Plan and Environmental Impact Statement for the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail. As yet, there are no segments officially certified as part of the trail, and there is no detailed mapping of a recreational retracement route.

Portions of the historic trail in California and Arizona have been implemented locally as recreation trails. In Arizona, local citizens in Santa Cruz County have recently completed a 4.5 mile segment of the trail from Tumacacori National Historical Park to Tubac Presidio State Historic Park. Since Anza was Captain at Tubac Presidio and had a long history in the area, this segment of the trail is particularly interesting. Just south of Tubac, and along the trail, an archeological dig is uncovering the original Tubac settlement.

In California, a portion of the Anza route has been identified within Anza-Borrego State Park in California. In addition, some of the state coastal beach parks in Ventura and Santa Barbara counties have trails which might become components of the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail. Henry Coe State Park in Santa Clara County contains about 15 miles of the Anza route.

The historic route in both Arizona and California in many cases has become a modern highway or is closely paralleled by one. In Arizona, Interstate 19 and 10 are within the historic corridor along the Santa Cruz River. In California, State Highways 78, 60, 1, 227, 68, 82, 238, 123, 4, and U.S. Highway 101 are on the route in several places.

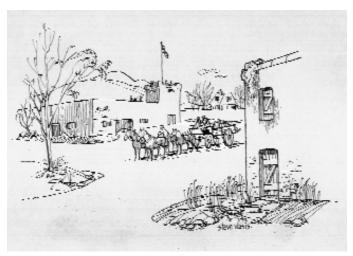
—Meredith Kaplan Anza Trail Team Coordinator Western Regional Office National Park Service

#### Interpretation

With this brief history we should be ready to start interpreting the trail. Indeed, we had better be ready. We have been answering questions about it and presenting programs from the time Congress first created the trail in 1990, because of the general interest in it and because the public expects park rangers along the route to know all about it.

So, how should we go about this? Well, that is easy. We have our hero—Juan Bautista de Anza. And we have our story. He lead a group of Spaniards from Mexico through 1,800 miles of hostile Indian lands in the winter of 1775-76 and established the first European settlement in the San Francisco Bay Area. Or is it that simple? Do we really want to be that shallow with our interpretation? I hope not!

Looking at the two major groups of people involved, let's examine the Native Americans first. And, I really



Captain Juan Bautista de Anza was commander of the Presidio of San Ignacio de Tubac. Here Anza assembled his expedition for the journey to San Francisco. Drawing by Steve Vlasis.

have a problem with some of the terms we apply to people. What is a Native American, anyway? Anybody who was born on this continent is a native American. Probably all of us in this room are native Americans. What we are talking about here are distinct nations and societies. In 1,800 miles the expedition passed through the lands of the Seris, the Mayos, the Yaquis, the Opatas, the Pintos, the Opas, the Sobaipuri, the Papago, the Pimas, the Yumas, the Mojave, the Chumash, the Gabrielenos, the Runsien, the Elsen, and the Alones. And that is probably only about half of the Native American groups with which this party came in contact.

Every one of them was a distinct cultural group with a distinct language. Every one of them was effected by this traveling city passing through their land in the middle of winter. Every one of them also had an effect on the expedition. From the time the immigrants left the Yaqui River in Sonora until they reached the Colorado River many hundred miles later, everything they did from the time they got up in the morning until they went to bed at night, and how they slept at night, depended on what they perceived the Apaches to be doing. There is no way that this trail can be interpreted correctly without including the Apaches. Indeed, you cannot interpret Juan Bautista de Anza without including them. Much of his life revolved around the Apaches.

What about the Yumas who were so friendly to Lieutenant Colonel Anza and the expedition as it went through their land? How could the trail ever be interpreted without including them and their interaction with the Spaniards? It was they who very effectively closed the trail down for a number of years, killing many Spaniards because of unfulfilled promises made by Anza, Garces and others.

And what of the Spaniards? How should we interpret them? That, of course, is easy. Everybody knows about the Spaniards and how Spain came to this continent greedily looking for wealth and world power. The

(**Garate**—continued on page 38)

Spaniards came looking for gold and silver. They trampled all over the Native American people. They burned and murdered and pillaged. They raped the land. They destroyed the natural resources. They were a greedy, sadistic, murderous lot, those Spaniards!

As we all know, however, Mexico kicked Spain out in their bid for independence. So then we had the Mexicans

to contend with. Antonio Armijo and others opened up a trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, re-opening and using a portion of Anza's trail. But it wasn't long before the United States and Mexico had a little tiff—one of the most misunderstood, underinterpreted events in our history—which put possession of the Anza trail into the hands of the United States.

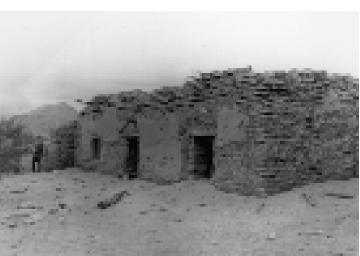
That was when we Americans—and again I hesitate to use the word Americans because everybody from Canada to the tip of South America is an American if we are going to call this continent

"America"—we "United Statesens" began to migrate to California. Many followed the southern route using a large portion of the trail that Anza had blazed 75 years before. And what did we do when we learned of the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill? We rushed off to California in unprecedented numbers, greedily looking for gold. We trampled all over the Native Americans. We burned and murdered and pillaged. We raped the land. We destroyed the natural resources like no Spaniard had ever dreamed possible. But we, by golly, were pioneers!

I know this is kind of an exaggerated example, but too often this is the kind of tone our historical interpretation takes in this country. It is wrong. It is offensive. It is something that we have to change and improve upon.

We do a great disservice to this famous expedition if we just call them "Spaniards" and let it go at that. What is a Spaniard, anyway? What is Hispanic, for that matter? No two people will give the same answer to that question, and even if two people could be found in agreement, somebody else would effectively show that their definition was incorrect. Let's keep in mind that it was Fernando and Isabel who first put Spain together from a large group of divergent kingdoms and principalities with many different cultures, races and ethnic groups and at least four major and mutually unintelligible languages. And this all took place the same year that Columbus set sail. Thus, the cultural diversity of Spain and her colonies was and still is immense.

We cannot hope to interpret this expedition correctly if we do not at least have a rudimentary understanding of the diversity of the cultural groups involved. We cannot even discern the proper name for its leader if we do not first understand his ethnic background. He was Basque and as such his name was Anza, not De Anza. When he was not signing his full title of nobility, he always referred to himself as Anza, as did his family and all of his contemporaries. They understood the historical system of universal Basque "hidalguia" among the "Spaniards" and never confused that nobility with anyone's surname. Calling him "De Anza" is something that got started in this century. In interpreting culture, we should be extremely sensi-



Ruins of Calabasas Mission Church. Father Pedro Font, chaplain and diarist for the Anza mission, celebrated mass here. Photo courtesy NPS.

should be extremely sensitive to historical facts and attempt to weed out erroneous traditions.

Padre Font, the chaplain of the expedition, was from Catalonia. He and Anza did not get along one step of the way. Font's native language was Catalan. Anza's first language was very probably Basque. Font was born in Spain. Anza was a native of Fronteras, Sonora. Some of the reason they did not get along, undoubtedly, was their differing dynamic personalities. But a good part of it was also their very different cultural upbringing.

Padre Garces, who went as far as the Colorado River, was from Aragon. Father Eixarch was of French descent. Many of the expedition members were peninsular "Spaniards" and represented a variety of ethnic and language regions, including Galician, Basque, Andalucian, and Extremaduran. The majority of the immigrants were listed as mestizo, what we would call Mexican today. There were at least six people on the trip that were considered Mulatto. Judging from the extreme importance that the "Spaniards" placed on the recording of race, we know that those people were of half "Spanish" blood and half African blood.

To understand the human interactions on this expedition or this trail, it is vitally important that we comprehend the richness of this cultural diversity. Anza was a hero, yes, but so was every person who traveled the trail with him, as well as those who met him along the way, whether in friendship or opposition. We must start looking at all ethnic and cultural groups in our interpretation of these trails, as well as the individuals who comprise those groups. And we have to stop placing judgments of good or bad upon them. Let us realize that they were all human, the same as we are, doing the best that they knew how with the information and understanding that they had. Let us appreciate the dynamics of their human endeavor without worrying about who was right and who was wrong. And let us hope that history treats us as fairly when there have been a couple of hundred years for people to examine our actions.

Donald T. Garate is an interpretive specialist/historian at Tumacacori National Monument. Arizona.

# Valuing Cultural Diversity is Cultural Validation

#### Joseph Marshall, III

ne of the tenets of "Manifest Destiny"—
relative to North American history—was
that different was defined as less than or
not quite as good as whatever was considered to be the standard or the norm. That
philosophy resulted in one of the saddest chapters in
the history of human interaction, because the basis for
that interaction was rooted in enmity. One can only
wonder how different the course of North American
history might have been had the practitioners of
"Manifest Destiny' been less fearful of those that were
different in race, form, or philosophy. But, since history
is not based on "what if," we must face it as we know it.

History belongs to all of us, no matter our race, religion, language, culture, or place of origin. Our ancestors made history simply by being what they were. We are doing the same even at this particular moment. It follows, then, that if history is part of everything that we are individually, ethnically, and socially, we should all be entitled to the telling of that history. Sadly, that has not been the case.

North American history has been told predominantly from the point of view of those who perceive themselves to be the "winners" or "conquerors." That point of view—to make an understatement—is biased. It is biased in favor of those doing the telling, and it is biased against those who are perceived to be the "losers" or the "conquered." Furthermore, denying a voice, in the telling of history, to those perceived to be the "losers" or "conquered" is part of the process of invalidating a culture; or, in this case, hundreds of cultures.

Fortunately, change is in the wind. As a Native American, I was fearful of the possible consequences of the national and worldwide focus on the Columbus Quincentenary. Such a focus, I thought, would give rise to renewed white American ethnocentrism to the detriment of Native Americans, Native American issues, and Native American history. While I do believe that white American ethnocentrism exists to some extent, my assessment of the Columbus Quincentenary is that it was a bust.

It is significant to note that many activities relative to Columbus Day or the Columbus Quincentenary in general were labeled as an **observance** or **observation**, instead of a **celebration**. While there were a number of Columbus Day "celebrations," there appeared to be an overall sensitivity to the use of the word **celebration**; though I suspect in some cases the sensitivity was predicated mainly on the desire to avoid bad publicity or possible confrontation with Native American radicals, and not necessarily on a brotherly concern for Native American feelings. But, all in all, the Columbus

Joseph Marshall's article reflects a divergent, or different view of what is important about history and about our past. We must always keep in mind that the values we associate with tradition and history may be seen by others from different perspectives. Those of us oriented to a European tradition often see the past as represented in those physical elements remaining from these eras. To others, the past is experienced through a living culture with its many forms of dance, painting and oral tradition. In this experience, the past is not something with sharp divisions that begin here and end there, but is something that flows into the present and becomes part of a now.

In Native American culture the past often is experienced as a spiritual quality. This is not to say it is diminished by this form of experience, but that this type of experience can be as valid to a society as the more tactile experience is to European culture. After the presentation of his paper, Joe Marshall questioned the validity of referring to the Native American experience of the past as being "less tangible." For the Native American, transportation corridors, as entities for representing the past, may have less validity than the other qualities associated with the migration and transport of peoples and things. Cultural diversity includes the appreciation of all aspects of culture. This may pose certain difficulties for a system that is oriented to the physical elements remaining from the past. However, we must remember still that history is written by all people; the sensitive interpretation of this history will come in many forms.

-EBC

Quincentenary fizzled because there is—obviously to an effective extent—a sincere concern in the American society's psyche about how we have and should look at the consequences of Columbus' arrival in North America. And that is realizing there is more than one view point regarding history. Consequently, that realization is, further, a necessary recognition of cultural diversity.

We are led to believe that the history of this continent now called North America began with the arrival of the Europeans. Perhaps because of the frequent use of words such as **prehistory**, it is easy to be led to that assumption. Even today, some Americans and Canadians are ignorant of human history in North America prior to 1492. But in 1492 on this continent there were hundreds, if not thousands, of diverse cultures, societies, and languages in existence. And they had developed, evolved, and existed for thousands of years.

Archeologists seem generally reluctant to say that the pre-European inhabitants of this continent have been here for longer than 12,000 to 15,000 years. But discoveries of artifacts carbon dated at 19,000 and 27,000 years suggest, for some, migration across Beringia between 40,000 to 60,000 years ago. Of course, theories and discussions in the scientific community, concerning earliest habitation of this continent, are necessarily based on hard evidence. Among many native North American

#### (Marshall—continued from page 39)

peoples, however, origin and creation stories say that we have been here forever. But before we allow this particular discussion to become a continuing argument on the exact time of arrival, we should pause to remember that the unavoidable fact will always be that the various native peoples of this continent were indeed here long before the Europeans. And in that time before the Europeans, cultures, societies, and languages were born, evolved, and, in some cases, died. For contemporary non-native society to be cognizant of that fact is to validate, for themselves, the rich, non-European cultural diversity of North America. To us Native Americans, our cultures, societies, and languages have always been valid and tangible and Euro-American or Euro-Canadian acceptance is not a requirement to have that sense about ourselves. However, all peoples need to recognize that different peoples—and therefore different cultures—do exist. The recognition of cultural diversity then becomes a basis for dialogue and a way to strengthen the human community. Anything less can be, and has been, the basis for conflict.

Valuing cultural diversity is knowing that being different does not mean being "less than" or "better than." Valuing cultural diversity is to recognize that being different is simply being different. Valuing cultural diversity is to say, in a sense, that I know your way may be better than my way or it may not be as good as my way, but I do understand that it is your way, and I will not deny it to you. Valuing cultural diversity is to say further that if given the opportunity I will sincerely try to learn about your way, not to take it for my own necessarily, but, so that I can learn all I can about you.

Valuing cultural diversity is to enhance and strengthen the global community through the avenue of awareness. Gaining that awareness does not mean a forced agreement with a differing philosophy. It does mean acceptance of the fact that a differing philosophy has a right to existence. That is how valuing cultural diversity becomes cultural validation.

Joseph Marshall, III, is a member of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe of South Dakota. He is a writer and historical consultant.

#### (**Fricker**—continued from page 25)

grappling with the wide variety of historic resources associated with the development of transportation and transportation corridors. We can attest that in Louisiana it has produced concrete results.

#### For Further Reading

**Note:** Much of the information contained in this paper was drawn from the National Register files in the Louisiana Division of Historic Preservation and would not be available to the general public. However, the following sources can be consulted for further reading.

Newton, Milton B. Louisiana: A Geographical Portrait, published by Geoforensics, Baton Rouge, LA, 1987 (Press defunct).

Kniffen, Fred B. Louisiana: Its Land and People, published by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, LA, 1968.

Davis, Edwin Adams. Louisiana: A Narrative History, published by Claitor's Publishing Division, Baton Rouge, LA, 1961.

Jonathan Fricker is the director of the Division of Historic Preservation, Office of Cultural Development, Baton Rouge, I  $\Delta$ 

# World Heritage Sites A Legacy for All

Terry B. Morton

any World Heritage Sites are in danger. Natural aging, neglect, growing urban and rural populations, industrial pollution, modern construction, natural disaster, wars—and, yes, even or especially tourism—from time to time have threatened these and other places of similar universal value.

**Great Walls ... The Great Wall of China** 

Great Cities ... The Arch of Titus, Rome Historic Center, Italy Diocletian's Palace, Split, Croatia

Great Barrier Reefs ... The Great Barrier Reef, Australia

Old Monuments ...
Nubian Monument of Abu Simbel, Philae, Egypt
The Avenue of the Dead, Pre-Historic City of
Teotihuacan, Mexico

New Monuments ...

Taliesin, Wisconsin, U.S.A. (Nominated by the
United States but not yet approved for listing by
the World Heritage Committee.)

Places that grew naturally ... Ngororgos Conservation Area, Tanzania

Places carefully built by people ... Stonehenge, United Kingdom Petra, Jordan

Cave Paintings ... Tassili n' Ajjer, Algeria

Places of Horror ...

Auschwitz Concentration Camp, near Cracow,
Poland

Inca Ruins ... Machu Picchu, Peru

Underground Industry ... Wieliczka Salt Mine, near Warsaw, Poland

Statues known the world over ...
The Statue of Liberty, New York City, United States of America

For example, the Isis Temple in Egypt and Venice have been seriously endangered by floods. Also the great statues at Abu Simbel had to be moved in 1963 when the Aswan Dam was built. In fact, it was the result of UNESCO's successful campaign to safeguard the monuments of Nubia, threatened with submersion by the construction of the Aswan Dam, that helped bring about the World Heritage Convention 20 years ago. The World Heritage Committee celebrated the Convention's 20th birthday in December 1992 at its annual meeting at Santa Fe, New Mexico. Back to our wonderful, internationally significant cultural and natural sites around the world.

Since Venice was seriously flooded in 1966, international efforts have been undertaken to keep the rising tides from destroying this unique city and its treasures. In 1990 another threat, a world's fair, was turned away from Venice because of the crowds it would bring. The potential damage from several hundred thousand visitors to this World Heritage Site was a grave concern to the World Heritage Committee, and this message was successfully conveyed to Italian authorities.

But an international agreement has offered hope, help and ways for nations to cooperate in protecting these special sites that enrich our common cultural and natural heritage, such as the Cloth Hall, in Cracow, Poland. The World Heritage Convention was adopted in 1972 to promote the concept that throughout the world there are cultural landmarks and natural areas of such unique value that they are part of the heritage, not just of individual nations but of all humankind. Today, the convention has been signed by 129 countries—the most widely ratified of any international conservation treaty.

The United States was instrumental in developing the World Heritage Convention and was the first nation to ratify it in 1973. The Convention now is one of the most powerful legal means for protecting invaluable sites around the world, such as the Sleeping Buddha in Sri Lanka. Emergency assistance was given by UNESCO recently to purchase equipment and sponsor a training course for conservation and restoration of stone Buddhist monuments in the ancient city of Polonnaruva.

Only 14 years after the first site was added to the World Heritage List in 1978, it now includes more than 358 places in 83 countries. The mosque in Fez, Morocco, is one of the cultural sites on the list. Some of the latest sites to be put on the list are palaces and parks in Berlin and Potsdam, the Kremlin ensemble and Red Square, Moscow; the Paris banks of the Seine River and its important sites; and the colonial city of Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic.

The symbol of the World Heritage Convention illustrates the interdependence of cultural and natural properties: the square represents forms created by people, while the circle connotes nature; the two are closely linked. The emblem is round like the world, and at the same time it symbolizes protection.

By ratifying the World Heritage Convention, nations pledge to protect their own sites on the World Heritage List, to respect the heritage of other countries and to assist each other in preserving listed places, such as the Taj Mahal in India. For example, the American National Park Service has helped India's tourism department to restore and sensitively develop its World Heritage prop-

(**Morton**—continued on page 42)

erties, including the Taj Mahal and the nearby Agra Fort. As incredible as it may seem, the Taj has been endangered many times in its 350-year history: first by invaders and colonial rulers, most recently by pollution and even terrorists who threatened to blow it up.

Another example of cooperation involves Mexico and its neighboring Central American countries, which recently announced a joint program to promote tourism and protection of artifacts of the Mayan Culture. The first phase is being financed by the European Community with \$1 million (U.S.). World Heritage sites included are Tikal National Park, Guatemala; Pre-Historic City of Chichen Itza, Mexico; and Copan in Honduras. The objective is to show the history and culture of an entire region as one entity, without borders.

The World Heritage Convention is overseen by a World Heritage Committee, which includes representatives of 21 nations that have signed the treaty. The committee approves the sites to be protected, makes them known throughout the world and provides financial and technical aid from a World Heritage Fund, using contributions from member countries. The United States, represented by the National Park Service and the State Department, is serving its second term on the World Heritage Committee.

The committee, an agency of UNESCO in Paris, calls on several organizations to advise it, including (for cultural properties) the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and (for natural areas) the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN). Just as there is a US/ICO-MOS, there is a US/IUCN, also with its headquarters in Washington, D.C.

The Conservation Union, located near Geneva, is responsible for nominations and the monitoring of natural sites on the list, such as the Rock Site of Cappadocia, Turkey.

As far as cultural properties are concerned, 60 national committees help ICOMOS monitor the places designated for protection. The Urnes Stave Church in Norway is one of the cultural properties nominated by the Norwegian World Heritage Committee and its ICOMOS Committee.

In the United States, some of the World Heritage work is carried out by the United States Committee of ICO-MOS. US/ICOMOS, as it is known, has been called our 'preservation window on the world." It serves as an information clearinghouse—both importing and exporting information on preservation here and abroad—and sponsors training programs, publications and study tours. Located in Decatur House on historic Lafayette Square in Washington, D.C., US/ICOMOS cooperates in a variety of programs with groups such as the National Park Service, State Department, U.S. Information Agency, World Monuments Fund, National Trust for Historic Preservation, American Institute of Architects, Smithsonian Institution, the Society of Landscape Architects, Conservation International, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

Nominations for U.S. sites to be added to the World Heritage List, such as the Santa Barbara Mission, California, are reviewed by a special federal interagency panel. This panel is staffed by the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of Interior. US/ICOMOS serves as an official observer on the panel, as does IUCN/US. US/ICOMOS helped research the U.S. Franciscan missions for a thematic nomination. Final nominations are transmitted by the State Department to the World Heritage Committee.

What are the places in the United States that the World Heritage Committee has agreed are of outstanding value, not just to Americans but to the rest of the world? Of the 17 sites accepted to date (including one nominated jointly by Canada and the United States), they are almost evenly divided between natural areas and places of cultural significance, those which are associated with human settlement

When Independence Hall in Philadelphia was nominated for the World Heritage List, it was not on the basis of the building's handsome features or its architectural importance. Instead, it is most significant because of its association with democracy—ideas, beliefs and events of international consequence. Here, in the late 1770s and 1780s the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Articles of Confederation were written. These documents had a profound impact on the struggle for self-government and human dignity throughout the world.

The Statue of Liberty at the entrance to New York City's harbor is a triumph of late 19th-century engineering, a work of art at a colossal scale. It was added to the World Heritage List not only as a symbol of freedom, but also as the product of an extraordinary gesture of international friendship—a gift from the French people to the United States that affirmed our long alliance with that nation. It has continued to inspire people across the world, as in 1989 when the Chinese students at Tiananmen Square used a model of the statue to symbolize their revolution.

Of the U.S. cultural sites added to the list, four represent important aspects of Native American prehistory. Mesa Verde National Park in southwestern Colorado contains extraordinary cliff dwellings built by the Anasazi, a Navajo word for "ancient ones." The area was first settled about 500 A.D.—one of the earliest in the Americas—and the stone apartments were built between 1100 and 1200 A.D. The Anasazi disappeared about 1300 A.D., leaving some 4,000 sites that have now been catalogued. Mesa Verde was the first national park to be established expressly to preserve human works. It is also one of the few sites inscribed on the list for both its cultural and natural importance.

The Anasazi also built an unsurpassed series of communities in New Mexico's Chaco Canyon. Some 75 masonry towns were connected by an impressive network of roads, totaling 400 miles. Their culture flowered beginning in early 900 A.D., but died out about 1100, probably because of droughts, even though they had innovative methods of irrigation. Today, their achievements can be viewed at Chaco Culture National Historical Park.

At Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site in Illinois, 50 miles of cubic feet of earth were moved to construct these fascinating mounds. Inhabited from about 700 to 1500 A.D., the site represents one of the highest achievements of pre-historic civilizations in the New World. The magnitude of the construction task indicates a highly orga-

nized division of labor and a sophisticated political system. Most of the mounds were used for ceremonial purposes; originally, there were more than 100, and today 65 mounds remain. Although not well know, even in the United States, in 1991, 500,000 visited the site—from 50 states and 85 foreign countries.

Another early American landmark on the World Heritage List is La Fortaleza and San Juan Historic Site in Puerto Rico. Searching for gold, Ponce de Leon claimed the island for Spain and established the first colonial settlement in 1508. Not much gold was ever found, but San Juan became part of the vast Spanish empire in the Americas.

San Juan and its harbor had to be fortified, to keep out enemies of Spain who wanted to attack its ships carrying goods back to the Old World. La Fortaleza, the first fort, was completed in 1540, but its location in the inner harbor was a poor choice. It was soon replaced by El Morro. A network of similar Spanish forts outside the United States also have been added to the World Heritage List, including Portobello-Fort San Lorenzo in Panama, the defenses in Havana, Cuba, and Cartegena in Colombia.

The only privately owned U.S. site on the list is Monticello, the home that Thomas Jefferson designed for himself in Charlottesville, Va., beginning in 1768. This house and the nearby Academical Village of the University of Virginia (1817-26), also a product of Jefferson's inventive mind, constitute a special Jefferson theme listing.

The international significance of these properties is at least threefold: (1) as creative masterpieces, (2) as unique examples of the neoclassical movement in art and architecture, and (3) as symbols of the universal values inherent in the American republic that Jefferson helped create—freedom and self-determination among them.

The remainder of U.S. sites on the World Heritage List were inscribed because of their natural—rather than cultural—significance. All of them are drawn from the superlative natural areas of the national park system.

Olympic National Park in Washington State embraces portions of the spectacular coast and mountains of the Pacific Northwest. Its 57 miles of fog-shrouded coastlines plus its lakes, meadows, glaciers and temperate rain forest have made it a special American place. It was first set aside as a forest preserve in 1897 and became a national park in 1938.

Redwoods National Park stretches along California's northern coast from Eureka almost to the Oregon border. Its special claim to fame are its redwoods—the world's tallest trees, second only to Sequoias in size. The redwoods are long-lived species, and some have survived more than 2,000 years, predating the dinosaurs. Efforts to spare these elegant trees date as far back as 1902.

Yosemite National Park, also in California, contains outstanding evidence of North America's most recent ice age, when now-extinct glaciers flowed through canyons to carve out the Yosemite Valley. Magnificent rock formations are among the wonders of Yosemite. The park also contains 5 of the 10 highest waterfalls on earth and 3 groves of giant Sequoia, as indicated above—the largest living things in the world, with the redwoods being the tallest. On an average day in July and August, nearly a quarter of a million people pour onto the floor of Yosemite Valley, an area of about 7 square miles.

Arizona's Grand Canyon, also a national park, contains the Earth's most complete physical record of geological time—a result of the conflicting forces of mountain building and gravity, all etched by the powerful Colorado River. The layers of stone that line the walls of its miledeep chasm permit geologists to read two billion years of our planet's history in stone. The constantly changing display of colors, light and shadow is dazzling.

Yellowstone National Park, home to the spectacular Old Faithful as well as native American wildlife, is on the World Heritage List, not just because of its natural wonders. This treasure spanning Wyoming, Idaho and Montana also was the world's first national park and thus is a model for others around the world.

Moving across the Pacific Ocean, the Hawaii Volcanoes National Park is one of the most active of all the World Heritage Sites. The park was created primarily to preserve the setting of the Mauna Loa and Kilauea volcanoes. Kilauea has been studied more than any other of the Earth's volcanoes, providing clues about how the planet and its continents were formed. Given that it continues to erupt, it will provide its secrets for a long time to come.

World Heritage Sites are frequently in the news. Recently there was an article about a movie cameraman who was rescued from the volcanic crater two days after his helicopter crashed and trapped him in sweltering fumes.

On the opposite side of the continent, on the border between North Carolina and Tennessee, are the Great Smoky Mountains called the Place of Blue Smoke by the Cherokee Indians. This national park gets its name from the smoky haze that envelops its peaks in the Appalachian chain, all of them surrounded by magnificent forest, wildflowers and cabins built by hardy settlers.

Mammoth Cave in Kentucky is a wilderness underground—300 miles of sculpted shapes, stalactites, stalagmites, crystals and rivers. No one has ever found the end of this eery paradise, the longest cave in the world.

Going south, temperate North America meets the tropics in Florida's fabled wetlands, the Everglades, or the River of Grass as the Native Americans called it. Since it became a national park in 1947, the glades have been shrunk to half of their original 4,000 square miles by thoughtless development, drainage and pollution. Today, both the state and federal governments are trying to reverse these threats and restore the park's delicate balance of life. The Everglades was so badly damaged by Hurricane Andrew in 1992 that it was temporarily closed to the public.

Exemplifying the spirit of the World Heritage Convention, Canada and the United States joined to nominate a World Heritage Site, the first to cross two national boundaries. The Kluane-Wrangell-St. Elias site is thus doubly important. Extending into southeastern Alaska and Canada's Yukon, this area contains North America's greatest concentration of mountains more than 16,000 fee high. Peaks, glaciers, wildlife and old mining sites abound in this park that is as big as six Yellowstones.

As impressive as these sites are, even more places deserve to be added to the World Heritage List. The most

(**Morton**—continued on page 44)

recent U.S. nomination making its way toward final approval by the World Heritage Committee is for two National Historic Landmarks designed by architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Taliesin West is Wright's famous studio and home near Phoenix, Arizona, begun in 1937.

Wright's first Taliesin was built in Spring Green, Wisconsin, in 1911. Both Taliesins are considered masterpieces of creative genius, buildings that have exerted great influence around the world. Other Wright designs, such as Unity Temple in Chicago and Fallingwater in Pennsylvania, are expected to be nominated by the U.S. under a Frank Lloyd Wright theme.

Another potential listing, prepared by US/ICOMOS, is a thematic nomination encompassing Franciscan missions in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. San Estevan del Ray Church at Acoma Pueblo in New Mexico, still the home of Native Americans, was started about 1629. It is important because it combines local materials, Native American construction skills and Spanish baroque forms to produce a uniquely American style.

The nomination illustrates all stages in the development of the American missions, from humble structures to large, ornate complexes. San Jose Mission near San Antonio, Texas, shows the influence of more high-style Mexican designs.

National pride in special places is not enough to guarantee them a spot on the World Heritage List. All nominated properties are judged by the World Heritage Committee against strict criteria of international significance. The listing of the Old City of Dubrovnik was recently moved to the World Heritage List of Endangered Sites, because of the severe damage caused by the armed conflict.

Cultural properties—buildings, towns, sculpture, painting, archeological sites—must represent exceptional artistic achievements in architecture and town planning, traditional but fragile cultures, and places associated with events, ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance. They also must be authentic and have adequate legal protection in their own countries, such as the Duomo in the historic center of Florence, Italy.

Significant natural sites, such as the American national parks, are nominated for their aesthetic beauty as well as their scientific value. They also can be areas that are the habitats of threatened species of animals and plants—places whose conservation is of outstanding importance to the world, such as Galapagos Island, Ecuador.

Despite the World Heritage List, and despite the willingness of more than 129 countries to help each other protect their unique places, many of these sites continue to be threatened for one reason or another. In our own country, the Everglades suffers from overdevelopment and a loss of the precious water needed to maintain it, and most lately hurricane damage. Yellowstone underwent a natural trauma when it was ravaged by fires in 1988 but it has had a rapid natural recovery. Recently Monticello was spared a massive office complex planned near its entrance, by none other than Jefferson's own University of Virginia.

Another World Heritage Site, the Niokolo-Koba National Park on Goree Island in Senegal, was about to be divided recently by a highway until the World Heritage Committee took action. It urged Senegal and the World Bank, which is funding the project, to respect the site's integrity and international status.

In Greece, a plan to build a new Acropolis Museum has come in for international criticism because it would spoil the historic open space that is an integral part of the Acropolis archeological area, another World Heritage Site.

But positive international action can be marshaled to rescue and preserve important sites. In Sana'a, Yemen, more than 7,000 distinctive mud-based structures first constructed in the 6th century have miraculously survived. US/ICOMOS has become involved in a 12-nation effort to restore some of these buildings, such as the 16th-century financial and banking center in the heart of the Old City in Sana'a, Yemen.

Along the coastline of Ghana, US/ICOMOS is assisting with another international project to develop a tourism plan encompassing 26 colonial forts and castles, including the Cape Coast Castle seen here. US/ICOMOS is working on this project with the Smithsonian Institution, a Consortium of Mid-West Colleges and Conservation International with funds from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

US/ICOMOS is also giving advice on the restoration of sites in the World Heritage town of Quito, Ecuador.

What all these places show so eloquently is that history, architecture, nature, geography and many other subjects can be taught by studying World Heritage Sites. "Very often, we remember only confrontations and destructions," American educator Ernest Boyer said recently. "What if we also were to celebrate the achievements of the human spirit, to rejoice in the fact that we are creators too?"

Dr. Boyer has suggested that the World Heritage Sites form the nucleus of an international university—a place for students from many countries to learn from one another.

These places that have been singled out because they represent "outstanding universal value" are indeed an inheritance shared by everyone around the globe. By identifying, protecting and sharing these sites, Americans and people everywhere are forming intangible links for world peace, freedom and human rights.

The tallest mountain in the world, part of a national park in Nepal, is on the World Heritage List. Commonly know as Mount Everest, its name is "Sagarmatha," which means "whose head touches the sky."

If you would like to become part of this effort, you can join with others who are working to preserve our World Heritage Sites—you can become a member of US/ICO-MOS; you can urge the federal government to support national and international preservation programs; you can visit these places and learn firsthand what they can mean to you.

It used to be said that the sun never set on the British Empire, but no longer. We can, however, safely say today that the sun never sets on the World Heritage Sites, and it never will.

# Hudson River Valley Greenway

#### David S. Sampson

he Hudson River Valley Greenway creates a framework for voluntary regional cooperation in the 10 counties of New York's Hudson Valley that emphasizes both environmental protection and economic development.

The Greenway establishes the means for regional planning, trail development, linkages of historic, cultural, and recreational sites and economic development along a 130-mile corridor on both sides of the Hudson River from the Troy Dam to the borderline of New York City.

The Greenway was established after a three-year study by a 19-member Greenway Council. Testimony from 19 public hearings and advisory committee recommendations formed the basis of the Council's draft study, published in April 1990. The draft study was widely distributed for public consideration, and in the summer and fall of 1990 eight public hearings were held as well as more than one hundred smaller meetings with the Valley's political, economic, environmental, and agricultural sectors.

Based upon this testimony, the draft study was revised, and in 1991, a final report was issued and the Greenway Act was signed on New Year's Eve of 1991. The Act provides a voluntary partnership between local governments and the state to encourage economic development while preserving the beauty and natural wealth of the area. To help pay for the Greenway program, the legislation provides for a hotel tax in the 10 counties of the Greenway, amounting to 2/10 of 1% or \$.20 for each \$100.00 in occupancy charges.

The Greenway Act encourages communities to participate in the Greenway through the Hudson River Valley Greenway Communities Council, the Greenway Heritage Conservancy for the Hudson River Valley, an Agricultural Advisory Council and the Hudson River Trail.

The overall goal of the Council and the Conservancy is the development of a comprehensive Greenway plan called the Hudson River Compact based on the five general criteria of natural and cultural resource protection, regional planning, economic development including agriculture and urban redevelopment, public access, and heritage and environmental education.

The 25-member Greenway Council assists communities who voluntarily participate in a coordinated planning process to resolve regional issues and concerns with their cross-river and adjacent neighbors. The Council provides assistance to:

- work with communities to upgrade existing zoning and masterplans;
- incorporate local plans into a comprehensive Greenway Plan;
- provide financial assistance for Greenway-related projects;
- comment on projects in the Hudson River Valley;
- help coordinate actions of other state agencies as they affect the Greenway area.

The 26-member Greenway Heritage Conservancy for the Hudson River Valley, working with the Council, is mandated to:

- develop a Hudson River Trail system along both banks of the River;
- provide technical and financial assistance for economic development and environmental projects;
- assist in the development of regional tourism programs;
- · seek creative solutions to land and water-related projects;
- provide a series of incentives to encourage communities to join cooperative planning in the Hudson River Valley.

The 11-member Agricultural Advisory Council will recommend ways to promote agricultural production and enhance marketing and tourism opportunities for agricultural producers in the Hudson Valley. In order to highlight the Valley's unique resources, the Council will determine the feasibility of creating a "Hudson River Ag Trail" tour.

The most tangible linkage of the Hudson River Valley Greenway's historic sites, wetlands, wildlife habitats, and urban cultural parks will be the Hudson River Greenway Trail

The Trail, open to non-motorized use, will run 130 miles along both sides of the river through cities, towns, and villages, across scenic highways and bikeways, and will offer access to cultural, historical, and recreational resources for residents and visitors alike. It will be made up of existing trails, parks, and abandoned railroad beds together with property voluntarily included by localities and individuals and historic sites. Involvement in the Trail system is totally voluntary. The Greenway does not have the power of eminent domain.

Each community will design its section of the Trail and share in construction and maintenance costs. Local school districts and Youth Conservation Corps will be encouraged to help in the development of the system. The Greenway will provide liability insurance coverage to property owners who participate in the Trail.

The first stage in the cooperative planning process was the designation of a model community program in each of the 10 Greenway counties of Albany, Columbia, Dutchess, Greene, Orange, Putnam, Rensselaer, Rockland, Ulster, and Westchester. The Greenway planning process anticipates that municipalities will work with each other to identify cross-border concerns and regional issues and to prepare regional plans. Regional issues may include such subjects as agriculture, tourism, recreation, economic development, and conservation of natural and cultural resources.

The cross-river cities of Beacon and Newburgh, the city of Troy, the town of Stuyvesant, the village of Haverstraw, and the adjacent villages of Croton-on-Hudson and Ossining are the first municipalities working to create precise Greenway criteria for application throughout the Hudson Valley by implementing state-of-the-art zoning and land use planning, undertaking capital projects, and identifying issues of regional concern. For example, the cities of Beacon and Newburgh have agreed to develop cross-river plans.

The recommended practice in each model community has been to establish or designate a volunteer citizen Greenway committee. The function of the committee is to

(**Sampson**—continued on page 46)

#### (**Sampson**—continued from page 45)

increase public participation in the Greenway effort, serve as an advisory body, and coordinate work on the Greenway. The Greenway Council has worked closely with municipalities to ensure that the local committees represent the community's demographic population. Committee meetings are informal, held in accessible public places in the evening, and are publicized beforehand as part of the requirements of the state's open meetings law.

In the final stage of the planning process, all participating communities will prepare a valley-wide Greenway plan that will form a Hudson River compact to help guide the future of the Hudson Valley. To assist in putting this compact together, the Council will first offer technical and financial assistance to communities to upgrade their planning and zoning ordinances. The Council may make grants of up to 50% of the cost of the communities' efforts for resource inventories, update of masterplans or ordinances, local waterfront revitalization programs or urban cultural park studies or management plans.

The Council will then designate Greenway planning districts and ask each district to prepare a comprehensive

regional plan using established Greenway criteria. The Council will pay for the cost of these plans and will then review each plan for consistency with Greenway objectives and criteria. Once all regional plans are approved, the Council will produce an overall Greenway plan.

Once the council has approved a regional plan, the municipalities that have adopted it are classified as participating communities and are eligible to receive financial and regulatory benefits. These include:

- matching grants from the Council and the Conservancy for Greenway related planning and capital projects;
- 5% preferential funding by state agencies for infrastructure or acquisition projects;
- speedier environmental review of projects identified and analyzed in the regional plan;
- indemnification for lawsuits involving municipal actions related to participation in the Greenway;
- authority to regulate docks, moorings, and boathouses to a distance of 1,500' in the navigable waters of the state.

David Sampson is executive director of the Hudson River Valley Greenway Communities Council, Albany, NY.

#### Legal Tools and Preservation Techniques for Corridor Protection

In the 1930s, Congress began to rely on cooperation, negotiation, and incentive to advance the goals of preservation and recreation. The latest manifestation of this principle is the heritage corridor or area. "Corridor" because many have been linear: canals, rivers, valleys. A comprehensive topology would include two other descriptions: local/urban, and regional.

Sample list of areas by type:

#### Corridor/Linear

Illinois and Michigan Canal (IL) Blackstone River Valley (MA/RI) Delaware and Lehigh Navigation Canal (PA)

#### Regional

Southwestern Pennsylvania Industrial Heritage (PA)

#### Urban/Local

Lowell (MA) Salem (MA)

Ebey's Landing (WA)

While all of these do not bear the title heritage, they combine in some form National Park Service, state, local, and private participation. Hence, the title partnership park. Partnership is defined as the combination of interests specified to achieve the stated objectives.

Commissions: The Legal Embodiment of Partnerships

Most of these areas include a commission. Advisory com

Most of these areas include a commission. Advisory commissions originated at Cape Cod. There the purpose was to allow the towns to have a forum to provide advice to the management of the seashore. Beyond advice they had no legal authority.

The commissions associated with most of the heritage areas have more significant powers. They can hire staff, employ consultants, accept donations, plan and implement. The Secretary of the Interior gets one seat out of 15 or 20. Membership, as with advisory commissions, attempts to be representational.

The Illinois and Michigan Canal Commission has 19 members; the Director of the National Park Service, three from the state, one from a local forest preserve, one from a county board, five from the Governor representing recreation and conservation, and five from the Governor representing business and industry.

While the membership varies in other legislation, the principle is the same, to bring the interested parties to the table and to provide a forum for achieving the legislated objectives. The commission is the legal embodiment of the partnership.

That may seem a simple formulation, but the opportunity to have regular meetings across jurisdictional lines is rare in government. It has considerable power.

#### **Authorities of Commissions**

They meet at least quarterly; hire staff; contract for experts and consultants; may accept personnel detailed from federal and state agencies on a reimbursable basis; hold hearings; use federal mail privileges; use federally-appropriated funds as a non-federal match; may accept donations as gifts to the U.S.; may NOT acquire real property, except by gift or with funds bequeathed for that purpose, from a willing seller; but the property must be transferred as soon as practicable to a public or private land managing agency who will use it for public purposes; may plan or modify a plan; may enter into cooperative agreements to carry out the plan; shall implement the plan, which shall include preserving the canal, assisting the state in the management of the canal, maintaining recreation trails, encourage visual screens, enhance the states natural areas inventory, don't infringe on political subdivisions, enhance public awareness, assist in the restoration of historic buildings, assist in establishing visitor centers, encourage economic and industrial development, identify access routes, finance warning signs and fences, encourage the state to reduce excessive liability, publish an annual report.

Their authority is limited in certain geographic areas and terminates in 10 years. In addition, the Secretary has certain duties carried out in consultation with the Commission. These include: inventories; developing a thematic structure; interpretive materials; technical assistance; and explaining tax advantages.

Heritage areas contain additional authorities such as: making loans and grants for protecting sites, buildings, and objects, on a matching basis; and assistance in preparing grant applications from other federal and non-federal sources.

—Denis Galvin NPS Associate Director Planning & Development

# Interpretation A Road to Creative Enlightenment

#### **Paul Risk**

hat is Interpretation? Freeman Tilden defined interpretation as: "An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects. by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information."

Tilden's statement is excellent but the author would like to suggest that interpretation is also:

"The translation of the technical or unfamiliar language of the environment into lay language, with no loss in accuracy, in order to create and enhance sensitivity, awareness, understanding, appreciation and commitment."

The final five words in the Risk definition comprise what will be referred to as the Sensitivity Continuum and will be expanded upon later to demonstrate the vital nature of their involvement in successful cultural interpretation.

Why Interpret? Increasingly, people in developed countries suffer from extreme urbanization and tunnel vision which severely limit their ability to appreciate their relationship to the environment, past or present. Because of this, biological processes are frequently assigned to arbitrary and inaccurate categories of "natural" and "manmade" as though humans are somehow unnatural. Is the structure a caddis fly builds around itself for protection from environmental extremes somehow more "natural" than a family's brick home which serves the same purpose? An understanding of the interrelatedness of all life and a personal relevance is lacking and in critical need. We lack an understanding of cause and effect. We have become separated from reality. This is particularly true with historical events, experiences, and perspective. For example, when great-grandmother wanted to travel, she had to hook up a team to the wagon or buggy, not just jump in the car. The phrase "flash in the pan" meant a great deal to a hunter, faced with a charging grizzly, whose flint lock ignited only the powder in the pan and failed to fire the gun charge in the barrel of his weapon. To a high school student today it is, at best, a quaint comment the meaning of which is lost. To greatgrandmother, "fast food" was when someone killed and plucked her chicken for her! She and great-grandpa had a hands-on understanding of cause and effect. They knew that whenever they ate, something died; whether plant or animal. They understood that one must cut a tree to have a house. The leather for their boots, shoes and belts they knew once surrounded the body of a steer! Interpretation can bridge the gap of time and provide personal relevance to things otherwise shadowed and obscure.

#### Our Ties with the Past

Ties with the past are critical. They give us a perspective from which to view ourselves. In a very real sense, we are our heritage; we are what went before. Our origins have forged us. They color our attitudes and actions. A vital factor in the development of historical perspective is a sense of the fleeting nature of time. To a teenage son, or worse, a nine-year-old, it is hard to believe that mother and father were not common residents with dinosaurs. "Did they have electricity when you were a kid?" they ask. "How 'bout TV?" How well the author remembers listening to his wife's grandmother tell of the building of Cove Fort in Utah and of traveling across the plains in a covered wagon. She recalled as a small child sitting on Brigham Young's lap, who commissioned her father to build the fort, as she played with and listened to his big pocket watch. Suddenly, history was not so distant.

#### **Learning From the Past**

It has been said that those who fail to learn from the past are doomed to repeat history's mistakes. How can we learn from something about which we know nothing? Among other things, from the past we can learn that our ancestors did some things better than we. Coping may be one of those things. From the vantage point of a modem person riding in an air conditioned, heated, humidity controlled, automobile racing along the interstate at 70 miles an hour, it is hard to imagine traveling the same route more than 100 years ago in a covered wagon. Awareness of the rigors of pioneer travel can give us a better appreciation of the minor nature of our own trials. How can the trauma of a broken Nintendo compare with freezing and starving people on the Mormon Trail pushing and pulling a handcart miles and miles, day after day, week after week. A flat tire and the resulting wait for a tow truck takes on a different feeling when viewed from that perspective.

#### **Global Perspective**

Cultural interpretation can assure that we understand our part in the global ecosystem and help us realize that the past influences us even today. It can provide a sense of regional and heritage pride which will enhance citizen concern, protection, and preservation. Blended properly, historical interpretation can also give a sense of geographic awareness. Environmental, geographic, and historical understanding help us all become wholly integrated with the past, the present, and the future.

#### Interpretation As an Aid to Protection and Preservation

We protect what we understand and value. When feelings of stewardship evolve, vandalism is reduced. Earlier it was mentioned that a goal of interpretation was to create or enhance sensitivity, awareness, understanding, appreciation, and commitment. When we are insensitive, we do not perceive. However, it is possible to be aware and not understand a situation which may breed indifference or in some cases, fear. Perhaps indifference is most dangerous. An indifferent person either assigns no value or devalues the thing for which they have no feeling. It is, therefore, far easier to damage or destroy it since it apparently has no relevance to their life. An important aid of effective interpretation is to move the visitor through understanding to appreciation. Appreciation engenders value assignment. Valued things are protected. And finally, commitment comes into being as the visitor actively participates and protects.

#### How to Foster Stewardship

Stewardship feelings have been fostered by some agencies responsible for cultural and historic sites through programs actively involving those who are the source of problems. Junior ranger programs and teen cleanup groups

(**Risk**—continued on page 48)

made up of opinion leaders can result in great gain in education and protection.

#### Transportation Corridors—A Different Challenge

Interpreting a transportation corridor is a very different task than interpreting a tree, a botanic garden, a flintlock rifle, or a historic home. Distance alone can be a daunting factor. Not merely a 1 /2-mile interpretive trail or a few yards through a home, the historic transportation corridor is usually many miles in length. It often passes though a wide diversity of jurisdictions including cities, counties or parishes, states, and federal lands. In many parts of the world, such a corridor may traverse more than one country. This diversity brings to bear many external influences which would not be the case if the entire area was clearly within the boundaries of a park or similar area.

#### Continuity and its Absence

Perhaps one of the most trying obstacles in corridor interpretation is the difficulty in building a sense of continuity in the visitor. What interpretation is done may be very limited and of low visibility. Visitors may travel only limited sections of the corridor. Often a land corridor such as the Oregon Trail or El Camino Real is represented today by a paved, divided, superhighway or interstate tracing, more or less accurately, its original route.

#### **Corridors as Roads or History**

Travelers on road systems are ordinarily not traveling to experience the historic corridor. They are simply using the road as a means to get to a destination and historical education is the farthest thing from their minds. Local people, particularly, using the road on a daily basis, learn to discount its value and take it for granted. More intensive interpretation is needed to establish and maintain an awareness and sense of continuity important to appreciation of the route.

#### **Interpretive Resources**

Interpretation, if it is to accomplish its goals must at once balance the need to minimize distraction from too many signs with the absolute necessity of doing enough. In general, historic transportation corridors suffer from sparse, obscurely placed, wordy attempts at interpretation. (Did Burma Shave ever let us forget about them for long? Did we look forward to reading their short rhymes?)

A wide variety of interpretive approaches may be used in interpreting historic transportation corridors. Some of those presented here are quite traditional, but some offer unusual, innovative ways to bring the corridor to life.

#### **Architectural Themes**

In some areas, communities along the route have chosen to establish architectural themes for businesses and other structures fronting on the historic corridor. The common designs lend continuity from town to town.

#### **Wayside Exhibits**

These are traditional and often represented by signs of wood or metal placed alongside the road. Too often, they are not at convenient locations permitting the motorist to stop. Wayside exhibits should be located at pulloff points with adequate parking. At least some signs should be large enough to be read from a moving vehicle. Those with more text should be at pulloffs. Advance warning must be provided to allow drivers time to slow to a safe speed and drive off the road at the stopping point.

#### **In-vehicle Interpretation**

Interpretation which allows drivers, pilots, and passen-

gers to receive interpretive information while in motion can be a valuable asset.

#### **Flight Interpretation**

Throughout the world many people travel on commercial aircraft. During flights which may be many hours in length, passengers read, listen to music, sleep, and a few look out the windows. From time to time, the pilot or first officer may make a few comments about scenic or historic areas being overflown but largely passengers are left to their own devices.

Airline travel can be a rich resource for extensive interpretation.

#### Video and Audio Interpretation

On longer flights movies are sometimes shown. But video and audio tapes related to the history of the area represent a potential interpretive tool of some importance. Most commercial airliners have multi-channel sound capability piped to each seat. Even with a movie in progress, passengers could have the option of tuning to one of the other channels on which interpretive tapes would be available

Of course, audio tapes could be designed which would be rented or purchased prior to the flight and listened to with the passenger's own player.

#### **Private Pilot Information**

Tapes and brochures could be created for private pilots enabling them to fly from one place to another learning about the history of an area. The less-structured nature of private flights would permit them to travel great distances following a historic transportation corridor.

#### **Other Transportation**

#### **Auto Caravans**

Groups of people traveling in their private vehicles are led by an interpreter, stopping periodically along the way. Usually, everyone disembarks at points of interest. However, this is somewhat awkward both in terms of time and movement of people. In some areas, the lead vehicle uses a special radio receivable by each car on its AM or FM equipment.

#### **Cassette Tours**

Rented or purchased at travel centers (most cars have players), cassette tapes provide a means for drivers and passengers alike to receive far more extensive interpretation than would be possible through signs alone.

#### **Bicycle Interpretation**

Cassette tapes could be well received by bicyclists. Another opportunity is represented by conducted tours. Interested bicyclists traveling together can have a rich interpretive experience tailored to the specific corridor. Special self-guided bike trails could also be developed.

#### Float, Canoe and Boat Interpretation

Water transportation corridors represent unique opportunities for interpretation. Conducted and self-guided activities could be offered.

#### **Radio Corridors**

Museums and other facilities often use short-range radio transmitters as an interpretive tool. Visitors carrying a special receiver pass into the active zone and receive interpretive messages. Some parks, airports, and highway departments also use radio to impart information. Signs alert visitors to tune their car radio to a specified frequency to hear the messages. A series of such transmitters might be located at intervals along the entire length of a historic transportation corridor.

#### **Visitor Centers**

Located at information centers along the corridor, they may be staffed or not. Brochures, booklets, maps, dioramas, and high-tech information dissemination such as touchscreen video and computer terminals may be made available. Specialized centers along the route might also offer conducted activities.

#### **Publications**

Publications represent an almost endless series of opportunities including guide books and complete travel packages with maps, brochures and tapes.

#### **Special Interpretive Safaris**

Recently a group of Wyoming educators participated in a trek which traveled a 75-mile section of the Oregon Trail in wagons to learn first-hand something of the rigors of such ventures. Other corridors could lend themselves to this approach as well.

#### "In-Home" Tours

Laser disks, interactive video, ordinary video tapes and interactive multimedia computer games and simulations offer those who cannot travel the corridor a means for innovative learning and recreation.

#### **Off-Site Interpretation**

Programs taken to locations more or less distant from the corridor can be especially useful. They include:

#### **School Programs**

Agency personal and/or interpretive students might be used to present these at elementary and secondary schools.

#### **Special Interest Group Interpretation**

Most service clubs and organizations are constantly on the look-out for interesting programs and speakers. Such groups represent important opportunities for interpreters to increase the dissemination of information on a corridor.

#### **Media Interpretation**

Television and radio offer opportunities for special programs related to the corridor. Newspaper feature articles as well as articles in travel magazines represent other options.

#### **Additional Interpretive Resources**

#### **Community Resources**

Full advantage should be taken of resources represented by government agencies, private organizations, and special interest groups in the community. The following represent only a partial list but should provide grist for planning.

- 1) Chambers of Commerce.
- 2) Community stewardship programs. Each community assumes responsibility for the section of the corridor which passes through or is adjacent to their town.
- 3) Local historical societies.
- 4) Youth groups: Scouts, etc. "Honor Scouts" may be trained to serve as information aides.
- 5) School systems. Integration with primary and secondary school curriculum brings students into contact with the corridor and interpreters associated with university curricula in environmental education and interpretation represent a potential source of help.

#### Private enterprise

- Book stores.
- 2) Local industries.
  - a) Resource-based
  - b) Long-term (historic) businesses
- 3) Hospitality industry.
  - a) Hotels/motels

- Video cassettes for viewing at motels via an inhouse or closed-circuit transmission.
- Brochures/guidebooks/maps.
- b) Restaurants
  - Place mats
  - Historical paintings, photographs.
  - Historical artifacts.
- c) Auto Clubs
  - Tour guides (include relevant sections).
  - Special tour materials.
    - Cassette rentals.
    - 2) Special booklets, brochures.
- 4) Oil Companies

Travel Clubs (Mobil, Texaco, etc.)

#### **County Resources**

- 1) County historical societies.
- Speaker pools.

#### **Regional Resources**

Regional parks and historical sites which cross county and municipal lines of jurisdiction. For example, the Huron-Clinton Metro Parks in Michigan and the Cleveland Metro-Parks in Ohio.

#### **State Resources**

- 1) Departments of Transportation
  - a) Signing
  - b) Printed materials.
  - c) State Information Centers
- 2) State historical societies.
- 3) Highway stewardship programs.

#### **Interstate Cooperative Efforts**

- 1) Booths at rest stops.
- 2) Bureaus of tourism.
- Involvement of colleges teaching interpretation.
   Opportunities for college and university students to serve as interpreters along the corridor.
- Local special interest groups.

Successful interpretation of historic transportation corridors requires involvement of a wide variety of agencies, industries, service clubs, special interest groups, youth groups and educational institutions, to name a few. The keys are coordination and correlation.

Internationally, we are very concerned today about cross-cultural conflict and lack of appreciation of cultural diversity and marginal understanding of the human environment in all its varied aspects. Historic transportation corridors, traversing, as they do, great distances and cultures offer a chance to bring together many people and races in a non-threatening venture which can be a mutually beneficial enterprise. Interpretation of these corridors can play a vital role in passive, pleasant and broad-based education for travelers and other visitors. Properly implemented corridor interpretation can truly be a life-changing experience. It can play a key role in how people perceive themselves and the universe in which we all exist. It deserves our best efforts.

#### **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Tilden, Freeman. *Interpreting Our Heritage*. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill. 1985.

Dr. Paul H. Risk is T.L.L. Temple Professor of Forestry and director, Center for Resource Communication & Interpretation, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.

# The National Road

## A Story with Many Facets—A Road with Many Resources

#### **Linda Kelly**

he National Road is one story with many facets. A large linear and diverse landscape, the National Road is the federally-funded road built between 1811-1838, and spans six states. Beginning in Cumberland, MD, the road crosses through the southwestern part of Pennsylvania, meets the Ohio River in West Virginia, continues west toward Columbus, OH, and Indianapolis, IN, crosses the state line in Terre Haute, IN, and heads southwest to its terminus at the first state capital of Illinois, Vandalia.

Today, the National Road is a vital but slower-paced corridor clearly different from interstate travel. Along the road are numerous cultural resources relating to the heyday of the road. Actual road segments also can be found. Opportunities exist to interpret the evolution of roads including the development of U.S. 40 and Interstate 70.

The National Park Service (NPS), at the request of the Southwestern Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission, is conducting a Special Resource Study to provide a contextual overview of the National Road and to evaluate the Pennsylvania portion of the project within the context of the entire road. One of the purposes of the study is to determine if an area meets the criteria for creation of a new unit of the national park system, or might more appropriately be marked and interpreted by other public agencies or private organizations. The methods to accomplish this task include looking at the road's apparent level of significance, themes it represents and the feasibility or suitability of the resource as a National Park area or another designation.

#### **Research and Fieldwork**

The study team traveled the length of the National Road in June 1992, using an inventory form developed by the team to record characteristics of various segments. A segment was determined to be a length of road along which characteristics were similar. A new inventory form was begun each time there was a break or change. The relative location of the National Road was noted, whether it was close to the original alignment, now a part of U.S. 40, or consumed by Interstate 70. General road alignment design was observed, a product of terrain and the era of the last realignment. General visual characteristics for urban and rural areas were recorded for foreground, middleground, and background of the road prism. Cultural resources were noted by type and era; this was based on both background information and observation. Notes were made on interpretive and recreation potential. Sketches of road sections were made to capture the overall character of each segment, and notes about feelings, association, and integrity recorded the intangibles. A total of 28 forms were completed between Cumberland and

The study team also gathered information regarding available interpretive opportunities along the National Road during the June field trip. The team visited or inventoried interpretive signs, identification signs, and interpretive centers/museums focusing on National Road resources. Other interpretive resources were identified through follow-up telephone conversations.

Based on observation and available information the team also looked at and recorded the character, quality and clustering of historic resources along the National Road.

#### Planning Within a Six State Corridor

Commencing in spring of 1992, the first step was to determine the apparent level of resource significance. The NPS team has identified that the National Road possesses exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting the development and improvement of roadways which are a part of our nation's heritage.

This national hoad Comberland - Vandalia

Another step in this process is to ascertain if the road is suitable for inclusion in the national park system by determining if the area represents a theme that is not adequately represented in the NPS or another agency. Using the History and Prehistory in the National Park System (1987) the team discovered that the National Road corridor falls within two subthemes of the transportation theme—early turnpikes, road and taverns; and automobiles, buses, wagons, and highways (see sidebar).

#### Methodology

After establishing its significance and themes, the team did a visual assessment of the road and talked to many people who have an interest in the road. During the assessment, certain characteristics about the road emerged. The differences between road-related resources such as inns and taverns from the early origins of the road or gas stations and eateries from the auto era were sometimes subtle and at other times dramatic. In some places realignments have funneled traffic and change away from old road segments and towns, leaving "oxbows" abundant with historic resources. Evolution of road development was apparent along certain stretches in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois with old brick road trace, current U.S. 40 and I-70 all within close proximity. Along the way, local efforts to highlight the history of the road was evident through street signs and business fronts, which carry the name National Road, National Pike, or U.S. 40.

The team collected a variety of written material in the form of brochures and interpretive pamphlets which demonstrated the desire of the region's citizens to tell others about the National Road story.

After completing this process the team took the project a step further. They used a method called a Delphi which features commentary and feedback designed to gather information and ideas which would normally be impossible to gather without a common group discussion.<sup>1</sup>

Typically, the Delphi is a vehicle to gather information from technical experts. In our case, we expanded our audience to include not only the technical experts but those who had a vested interest in the road as well. Special interest or expert groups included local and state economic development groups, the Department of Transportation in each state, authors, interpretive specialists, parks and recreation departments, and a National Road artist.

Packaging the Delphi was very important. The team felt that in order to get the participants to respond, we had to give them a reason to look at the material. We



Bridgeport, OH, old road trace and U.S. 40 bridge. Illustration by Alison Cook.

took the time to make an attractive package that would generate curiosity about our project and research or materials. The packaging took the form of a pocket folder with a newsletter describing the project. Some of the elements we included were a section describing the importance of the National Road, resources and planning initiatives in the six state corridor. and interpretive



West of Indianapolis, IN. Illustration by Alison

efforts presently in place along the road.

The key to the success of any Delphi process is communication between the many parties interested in a particular project or topic. In our case, this was accomplished in two ways—the response form and the participant list. We wanted our audience to use the response form to offer ideas for management, interpretation and use of the National Road.

The results from the response form were synthesized and shared with the group on the mailing list. This gave the participants the opportunity to learn what others felt was most important about the road.

The other tool, a participant list, served as a directory of the many different parties having involvement or future potential for National Road projects. By placing it in the pocket folder, participants could keep the materials together for future reference and contacts.

Out of 95 Delphi packages we distributed, a total of 38 responses were returned. Thirty-three pages of typewritten comments were compiled. Some of the responses were the result of people learning about the Delphi through those participating in this process. The team was pleased with the response because we heard from a diverse cross-section of participants who had an interest in the road and were able to offer suggestions and advice on how the National Road could be managed and protected; and because the process has allowed participants to network with others who are involved with historic transportation corridor interpretive and preservation efforts along the National Road and other areas.

The results of the Delphi were mixed. While many feel it is a high priority to educate the public about the road's place in history, others felt that an emphasis on the identification of extant resources and landscape protection was critical, since many are currently threatened. In short, an emphasis on historic preservation and landscape protection must concurrently occur while educat-

# Livable Communities and Historic Transportation Corridors

#### Peter H. Brink

n the short term, we can make good progress toward making historic transportation corridors a valued part of American life by identifying and surveying their boundaries and important characteristics.

In the longer term, however, we can only gain the protection and appreciation of these corridors if enough people living in or near the corridors favor and support them. Supporters must include local government leaders and constituents in that they alone, at least in our present system of land-use laws, have the power to legislate protection of the corridors.

To achieve this long-term support, key stakeholders in local communities must have participated in creating a shared vision of the value of the corridors. Stakeholder includes land owners, business persons, political activists, and local government staff and elected leaders. Working together in this way occurs when stakeholders see a proposed corridor as, on balance, helping them achieve objectives important to their communities. Such objectives include jobs for local residents, net improvement of local tax revenues to support schools and other services, and a sense of ownership and pride in the projects.

A step toward this type of coalition building took place at the Midwest Conference on Heritage Corridors in April, 1991, in Toledo, OH. Here, more than 150 environmentalists, recreationists, and preservationists from communities in the Midwest came together. There was an excitement and enthusiasm as people realized that they had allies they had not known before, and that things about which each group cared could be best achieved by joining together in the common cause of a heritage corridor.

Yet this was only a step. Supporters of parks and boating, natural forests and waterways, historic battle-fields and structures were there. But not yet present were local leaders primarily interested in small businesses, jobs, local government, and the economic future of their communities.

I offer two opportunities for helping attract local stakeholders to create a common vision of a historic transportation corridor and to support making their dream a reality.

The first opportunity is Main Street, a program created by the National Trust some 12 years ago. Main Street is a commonsense approach to revitalizing traditional downtowns by joining business interests and historic preservation. It is not a program for the purists. It is dri-

ven by a local board of directors, a locally-hired staff person, and primarily local funding. In its 12 years as a national program nearly 800 communities have made the commitment and initiated local Main Street programs. More than 30 state governments assist them. The National Main Street Center provides training, workshops, resource teams, technical publications, and a national network for the exchange of information. For example, last April in Tulsa, OK, nearly 650 participants from across the country gathered at a national town meeting to take on issues like urban sprawl, downtown reinvestment, and effective marketing.

To date Main Street programs have attracted more than \$2.5 **billion** in investment to their downtowns and neighborhood commercial areas, created more than 60,000 new jobs, and experienced a net gain of almost 17,000 new businesses.

What is the opportunity in this for historic transportation corridors?

Consider first a historic transportation corridor ... delineated, researched, surveyed, documented, yes ... but beyond that, containing a sprinkling of towns in each of which there is a vigorous citizens group aimed at keeping the downtown economically viable, the historic buildings maintained and used, the sense of community strong: a group using a comprehensive approach that includes effective organization, good design, economic restructuring, and marketing; a group believing in historic preservation, authenticity, and incremental change as ways to improve their community; a hands-on group working in the streets to get things done.

What an opportunity: to have this network of Main Street communities, and to gain their participation in planning, interpreting, protecting and marketing the corridor.

This, in fact, is what the Illinois and Michigan Canal Association is beginning to do. Three towns along the canal—Lockport, Ottawa, and Lemont, chosen through a competitive process—are now Main Street communities. Technical assistance is being provided by a canal Main Street coordinator and by the National Main Street Center.

Already the Canal Association is exploring ways to spread the Main Street approach to other towns throughout the 100-mile corridor. A recent planning session included ideas such as:

- a network of Heritage Corridor Main Street Affiliates so that every community in the corridor could gain access to a newsletter, speakers, training sessions, information from the National Main Street Center, and a menu of technical services, and
- eventually, a number of these affiliate communities being able to initiate their own full-fledged Main Street program.

Ultimately more exciting, however, is drawing these communities together in **corridor-wide** activities. The I & M planning session identified possibilities such as:

- a resource center for the corridor with local documentation from all the communities and how-to materials from the National Trust and others;
- a corridor-wide network of bed and breakfasts with shared information and technical assistance;

- recruitment of appropriate businesses to the corridor with a comprehensive database and marketing analysis;
- a revolving loan fund available for projects throughout the corridor:
- · a network of visitors centers; and
- numerous other ideas.

Eventually these communities could provide strong participation in the overall direction and goals of the corridor management and strong support. Their grassroots, collaborative approach could extend to issues beyond the specific downtowns and communities, adding participation and activity to planning and implementation of the corridor.

The second opportunity is heritage tourism. This, as we all know, is not an unmixed blessing. We have witnessed the proliferation of T-shirt shops, beer, and country western music in New Orleans' Bourbon Street until one wonders where the heritage is; the economic displacement of long-time residents occurring in Santa Fe, NM; and the commercial signs and homogenized fast food places cheek by jowl with the Gettysburg battlefield.

Yet it is also true that few historic house museums could exist as such without the economic support of visitors. Historic communities from Charleston to Carmel, and cities from Boston to San Francisco, owe an important part of their revenues to tourism.

Tourism is, without doubt, a massive economic force, here to stay. Travel and tourism contributed nearly \$350 billion in expenditures in 1991 in the United States alone. Tourism is the largest economic generator in 17 states, and second or third in nearly all the rest.

And, generally for the better, historic places and historic ambiance consistently rank among the top attractors of visitors.

Seeing both these potentials and the dangers, the National Trust more than four years ago formulated the Heritage Tourism Initiative. Its aim was to create partnerships at the local, state and national level to further responsible tourism with the emphasis on heritage. Four states—Indiana, Tennessee, Texas and Wisconsin—were selected through a competitive process as demonstration states, each with four pilot areas. Now, we will soon complete three years of work in these areas. Nearly all the pilot areas include several communities, many contain several counties, and three are based upon historic transportation corridors.

For example, along the transportation corridor north from Milwaukee to Manitowac lie some 22 ethnic communities.

Most important in the program is a comprehensive approach including assessment of potential for heritage tourism, strategic planning, product development, and marketing and research. It is an approach that gives communities the best chances of success in heritage tourism over the long term.

Perhaps most exciting in the program is progress in smaller communities in working together on a regional basis. Despite decades of seeing themselves in competition with each other—from high school football to business—communities are realizing that they can only compete in tourism by being part of a larger whole: thus, support for creating regional plans and destinations in the pilot areas.

The National Trust is now converting its experience in these 16 pilot areas into a permanent Heritage Tourism Program, whose goal is a responsible marriage of historic preservation and tourism. One of the major lessons of our work is that responsible heritage tourism, grounded in sound principles and a comprehensive approach, can be an important component of historic transportation corridors.

Using the economic attraction of responsible tourism and the grassroots approach of Main Street can help us draw communities together in support of historic transportation corridors and can move many corridors beyond good plans to good action.

Peter Brink is vice president for Programs, Services and Information, National Trust for Historic Preservation.

(**Kelly**—continued from page 51)

ing the public about the importance of these resources. Telling the "story" of the National Road will provide support and understanding of the resources and the landscapes that surround them.

#### Conclusion

Because most historic transportation corridors are large linear landscapes, protecting and preserving the National Road Corridor for its scenic, cultural, and historic resources will be a difficult task. By building constituencies, letting others know about National Road related projects and using programs that are already in place, preservation, protection, and education about the importance of the National Road may ultimately result in shared management and maintenance of the historic corridor. Through the combined efforts of many, the public can begin to understand the beginnings of federally funded road development in this country and where it is headed.

#### **Notes**

The Delphi process is designed to conduct a brainstorming session, and eventually establish consensus about a particular topic, with recognized experts using mailback response forms rather than attempting to get all of the participants together in the same room. Although similar to using newsletter/questionnaires with the general public, the Delphi process is targeted to specific individuals for specific purposes, rather than seeking more general kinds of feedback from the general public.

Linda Kelly is a natural resource specialist and the team captain for the National Road Special Resource Study, Denver Service Center, Western Pennsylvania Partnership Branch, National Park Service.

Alison Cook is a landscape architecture cooperative education student.

# Report of Working Groups

# **Historic Transportation Corridors Conference**

Working groups made up of the presenters, moderators, and rapporteurs from the training conference met in San Antonio, TX, after the formal sessions were completed. The purpose of this informal meeting was to develop comments and recommendations, based on the formal presentations, for creating guidelines to include historic transportation corridors in national and state registers, and to recommend consideration by the World Heritage Committee of including historic transportation corridors as part of the initiative to consider historic landscapes for inclusion on the List of World Heritage Sites. These recommendations form the concluding part of the conference on historic transportation corridors (HTCs).

#### Goals

- Seek a good definition of a historic transportation corridor.
- Use existing mechanisms that work, i.e., definition of national historic trails used in the
  National Trails System Act, application of
  National Register criteria for evaluation, etc., to
  develop an effective framework of national standards for identifying, evaluating, managing, and
  protecting transportation corridors.
- Explore mechanisms for the protection of historic transportation corridors in a manner that allows for the continued use of the corridor and its supporting elements.

HTCs should be: broadly based; viewed as continuum in time, featuring the changing technologies of travel; delineated by historically-based boundaries, acknowledging the significant aspects of the corridor's setting, viewsheds, etc., as well as intangible qualities such as sounds, smells, etc.; reflective of the multiplicity of resources, cultures, and issues related to the corridor; using inter-disciplinary and multi-cultural approaches to evaluation, commemoration and interpretation.

#### **Proposed Definitions**

A series of questions or tests for a definition was suggested:

- Can it accommodate the incredible range of possible HTCs (route, trails, corridor, line, pattern)?
- Does it account for the HTC's broad ranging impacts?
- Does it make clear what a HTC is not?
- Does it account for the HTC's social value and relationship to changing cultural patterns?

An HTC is the linear, character-defining thread that binds together a combination of sites, structures, buildings, districts and objects with a variety of historic, natural and cultural values associated with or directly affected by the corridor along a historic continuum.

An HTC is a travelway of historic significance associated with broad patterns of cultural history and is an identifiable route based upon natural and cultural resources.

An HTC is a linear geographical patterning of cultural use over time containing one or more trails, routes, or travel events and their associated property types, which are integrated with the natural setting and which are associated with the historically significant movement of people, material, ideas, and social values.

#### **HTC Characteristics**

Human use or activity is evidenced along historic transportation corridors through the identification and evaluation of a combination of the following possible characteristics:

- Land uses and activities
- Patterns of spatial organization
- Cultural responses to the natural environment
- Circulation networks
- Boundary demarcations
  - Landscape architectural features-both formally designed and vernacular or functional
  - Associated buildings, structures, districts, sites and objects
  - Scenic qualities, vistas, viewsheds, natural features
  - Impacts of technology

The sum (totality) of a corridor's parts will be greater (and more significant) than the value of most of its individual parts.

What is the relationship of the parts to the whole? Is there integrity? Is a clear continuum present? Does the corridor's setting (container) demonstrate integrity of place?

#### **Protecting HTCs**

While some HTCs may be modest in size, it seems clear that, in general, we are looking at large, complex, multi-owner, multi-use combinations of natural and cultural resources. Such areas will also have multiple layers of cultural significance with diverse meaning to varying populations, and in many parts of our country that significance will be sacred as well as secular.

Devising protection for such areas has always been a challenge, but meeting that challenge will have great rewards because of the potential for preservation of such large-scale structures as HTCs, and the greater potential for involving the public. A tantalizing list of the potential benefits of HTCs has been described beyond those we normally associate with preservation projects; these will be well worth our effort.

Our examination of protection strategies will have to treat government's role with caution. The fiscal resources are not sufficient to permit large scale intervention in such areas, even if such intervention were desirable. And, as has been described, wherever privately-held property is involved, owners will organize to resist any designation of their property, for planning or protection purposes.

Proposals for protection will be key to devising world heritage criteria and nominations. The requirement for controls over listed properties is an obvious challenge in relation to HTCs.

## Considerations for Evaluating, Activating, Protecting and Interpreting HTCs

- One or more national theme studies should be conducted to identify potential corridors within a broad national context. (As a prototype, perhaps use the USDOT Bike/Pedestrian study, with component parts submitted by dozens of researchers and groups nationwide.)
- Develop cross-disciplinary, cross-institutional, crossnational coalitions and find funding and technical expertise to support it (them).
- Increase the awareness and information levels on HTCs with articles (*CRM*, etc.). Be inclusive, international, in several languages.
- Address the potential education and transportation uses of HTCs with an open mind.
- Re-install key transportation elements (such as trolleys and tour boats) as feasible to make corridors come alive.
- Include HTCs as key organizing elements in future national transportation plans.
- Consider the original transportation modes (equipment, experiences, etc.) in planning, interpretation, and future use of HTCs.
- Key importance of interpretation/education/ public relations/beginning prior to designation.
   Try to defuse opposition based on ignorance of the intent and effect of designation.
- "Bottom up" process: discover what people want, including land owners. It is important that residents and business owners feel that the proposal accomplishes goals they want to achieve.
- Early education and public participation can help both to define the corridor and motivate multiple groups in the communities/region to action.
- At "corridor scale," minimum criteria for integrity and protection may vary along the way.
- High potential segment/site management plans: identify critical areas and try to match them with most appropriate protection mechanisms.
- Strengthen available resources from HPF and LWCF and other incentives (e.g., IRS tax incentives) for corridor development.
- Pay attention to vistas/viewsheds both from within and without the corridor.
- Consider appropriateness of public ownership/quasi public ownership, stressing importance of partnerships with private entities and local controls.
- Consider using multiple federal agencies/programs to achieve protection (e.g., BLM, FS, OCZM Coastal Management, etc.).

- Planning must be accompanied by monitoring and evaluating change (GIS, etc.).
- Build in package of incentives for resource assistance and mechanisms to relieve owners from burdens imposed by being designated (e.g., monitoring change and expediting the preparation of environmental reviews/permits) and providing incentives such as technical assistance.
- Acceptable change in corridor will depend on nature of corridor, and what is being protected; the normal way of making preservation judgments may have to be change.
- Recognize the sensitivity of rural landscapes to government agricultural policy, such as price supports and other assistance programs.
- Consider importance of integrating/linking cultural and natural landscapes.

## **Considerations Concerning World Heritage Standards for Corridors to be so Designated**

- Integrity (the whole is greater than the sum of the parts) and protection are the key issues.
   Protection will be different in long, linear, multinational corridors (which may eliminate almost all HTCs for now).
- Consider revision of US criteria re: NHL, NPS and National Trail System units for designation of park status. This would aid US commitment of protection if such properties were given World Heritage Site status.
- Consider revision to World Heritage Committee guidelines for protection to allow more flexibility, and means to accomplish protection. This may be necessary given the complex ownership of corridor properties.
- Consider federal/state/local legislative establishment of a commission associated with the corridor area as evidence of protection. The Commission's task would be to protect property by a variety of means.
- As a preliminary exercise, an attempt at identifying potential world heritage class HTCs, with universal value, integrity, and protection was undertaken. (Some felt this was premature and wouldn't nominate any, awaiting a systematic theme study. Others said it was very exclusive and hard to find examples.) Some, however, did come to mind:
  - the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers\*
  - the St. Lawrence Seaway
  - the route of the Orient Express
  - the [former] Beringia land bridge
  - the Erie Canal corridor\*
  - the Wilderness Road\*
  - the Pan American Highway
  - · the Inca Road system
  - the Las Vegas strip\*
  - the Silk Road
  - \* may be only of national significance



### **PROGRAM**

Monday, November 30,1992

**2:00-7:00 p.m.** Registration

**Holiday Inn** 

Natchitoches, Louisiana

Tuesday Morning, December 1, 1992

TRAINING PROGRAM

7:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Registration

Foyer, Kyser Hall, Northwestern State University

Natchitoches, Louisiana

8:00-8:30 a.m. Opening Session:

Presiding: Dr. Robert Alost, President

Northwestern State University

Senator J. Bennett Johnston Presentation by Mary Johnston

Terry B. Morton, President

United States Committee, International Council on Monuments and Sites

(US/ICOMOS) Washington, D.C.

Jerry Rogers Associate Director for Cultural Resources

National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Studio A, Auditorium, Kyser Hall

8:30-9:10 a.m. Keynote Presentation

**Christina Cameron** 

Director General, Cultural Affairs, Canadian Parks Service

9:10 a.m. Conference Coordination and Goals

**Blaine Cliver** 

Chief, Preservation Assistance Division, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

9:20 a.m.-12:30 p.m. RESOURCE IDENTIFICATION

Moderator: Steve Elkinton

Long Distance Trails Manager,

Recreation Resources Assistance Division National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Rapporteur: Mary Estelle Kennelly

**Program Director for Collections Care** 

National Institute for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Washington, D.C.

(1) PANEL: Techniques of Identifying and Evaluating COrridors and Trails

Panel Chair: Chester Liebs

Director of Historic Preservation Program University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont

Panelists: Charles Birnbaum

Historical Landscape Architect, Preservation Assistance Division

National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Jere Krakow

Historian, National Park Service

Denver Service Center, Denver, Colorado

**Timothy Nowak** 

District Archeologist, Rawlins District

Bureau of Land Management, Rawlins, Wyoming

(2) Route 66

Teri Cleeland

Forest Historian, Kaibab National Forest, Williams, Arizona

**10:40-11:00 a.m.** BREAK

(3) Transportation-Related Resources Recognized in the National Register

**Beth Savage** 

Architectural Historian, National Register of Historic Places

National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

(4) Historical Trails

William Watson

Past President, Oregon-California Trails Association, Summit, New Jersey

(5) Remote Sensing—Chaco Canyon

John Roney

District Archeologist, Bureau of Land Management, Albuquerque, New Mexico

**12:30-2:00 p.m.** Luncheon

Corridors as Part of the National Historic Preservation Agenda

Nellie Longsworth

President, Preservation Action, Washington, D.C.

National Park Service Perspectives on Route 66

**David Games** 

Chief, Branch of Long Distance Trails

National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Ballroom, Friedman Student Union

RESUMPTION OF TRAINING PROGRAM

2:00-2:15 p.m. Introductory Remarks

Gerald Ray, Shreveport District Engineer Administrator

Louisiana Department of Transportation and Development, Shreveport, Louisiana

2:15-2:45 p.m. Louisiana State Plan

Jonathan Fricker, Director

Division of Historic Preservation, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

2:45-3:15- p.m. Department of Transportation Enhancements of the "Intermodal" Surface Transportation Legislation

Bruce Éberle

Federal Preservation Officer, Federal Highway Administration

Department of Transportation, Washington, D.C.

#### 3:15-5:45 p.m. CORRIDORS AS CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Moderator: Carol Shull

Chief of National Register Programs, Interagency Resources Division

National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Rapporteur: Beth Savage

Architectural Historian, National Register Programs

National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

(1) Tools of Assessment/HABS/HAER Recording and Documentation

Eric DeLony

Chief, Historic American Engineering Record (HAER)

National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Sara Leach

Historian, HABS/HAER

National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

**3:55-4:15 p.m.** *BREAK* 

(2) Roads and Trails as Elements of Cultural Landscapes

Dr. Sandy Blair

Director (Acting) of the Historic Environment Section

**Australian Heritage Commission** 

Canberra, Australia

(3) PANEL: Valuing Cultural Diversity

Panel Chair: Dr. Setha Low

Professor of Environmental Psychology and Anthropology

C.U.N.Y. Graduate Center City, University of New York New York, New York

Panelists: Barbara Tagger

Historian, Conservation Assistance Branch Planning Division

National Park Service Atlanta, Georgia

**Donald Garate** 

Historian, Tumacacori National Historic Park

Tumacacori, Arizona

Joseph Marshall Consultant

Casper, Wyoming

6:00-7:00 p.m. View HABS Drawings & Reception

Foyer, Friedman Student Union

**7:00-10:00 p.m.** BANQUET

Welcome: Dr. Robert Alost

President, Northwestern State University

**Guest Speakers:** 

World Heritage Convention Terry B. Morton, President,

United States Committee, International Council on Monuments and Sites

Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, December 2, 1992

RESUMPTION OF TRAINING PROGRAM: 8:30-8:40 a.m.

Department of Defense's Legacy Resource Management Program 8:40-9:10 a.m.

John Cullinane, AIA

**Legacy Resource Management Programming** 

**PROTECTION** 9:10-12:20 p.m.

> Eric Hertfelder, Executive Director Moderator:

> > National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, Washington, D.C.

Rapporteur: Roy Eugene Graham

AIA School of Architecture and Planning, The Catholic University of America

Washington, D.C.

(1) PANEL: Legal Tools and Preservation Techniques for Corridor Protection

Panel Chair: Denis Galvin

Associate Director, Planning and Development National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Panelists: **David Jacques** 

Head of Historic Parks and Gardens English Heritage

London, Great Britain

**David Sampson** 

Executive Director, Hudson River Valley Greenway Council

Albany, New York

(2) Interpretation Techniques

Dr. Paul Risk

Director, Center for Resource Communication and Interpretation

College of Forestry, Stephen F. Austin State University Nacogdoches, Texas

10:30-10:50 a.m. **BREAK** 

(3) Building Constituencies Sally Oldham, President, Scenic America Washington, D.C.

(4) El Camino Real and its Place in History

Al McGraw

Archeologist/Old San Antonio Road Project Director

Texas Department of Transportation

Austin, Texas

12:30-2:00 p.m. Luncheon

The National Road

Linda Kelly, Team Captain, National Road Special Resource Study

**Denver Service Center** 

National Park Service, Denver, Colorado

**Livable Communities and Historic Transportation Corridors** 

Peter Brink, Vice-President of Programs, Services, and Information

National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C.

Ballroom, Friedman Student Union

Tour of Natchitoches National Historic Landmark District 2:30-5:00 p.m.

> National Park Service E. Blaine Cliver, Chief

Marilou Reilly, Program Analyst

The Preservation Assistance Division

Northwestern State University of Louisiana Dr. Robert Alost, President

Coordinated by:

The Historic Transportation Corridors Conference

(Cameron—continued from page 7)

will report back to the World Heritage Committee in December of this year.

Their proposal includes criteria that may well help us evaluate historic transportation corridors. For example, corridors could be looked at to see if they:

- bear unique or exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition which has disappeared;
- are outstanding examples of landscapes that illustrate significant stages in human history;
- are outstanding examples of traditional land use, representative of a culture, especially if vulnerable to irreversible change;
- are associated with events or living traditions, with ideas or beliefs, or with artistic or literary works of outstanding significance.

The issues of authenticity and integrity will also be difficult ones to deal with in the case of transportation corridors. Used over the centuries, the cultural resources have been modified, upgraded or destroyed, although the corridor itself continues to move goods and people along the route. This is not so far removed from the current rethinking of the authenticity issue in light of traditional Japanese houses, where physical fabric is replaced over time, while the "historic house" is deemed to remain unchanged.

Beyond the actual evaluation process, there are management issues which particularly affect historic corridors. For instance, there is the question of defining the extent of the corridor. As we have seen, some corridors range thousands of miles across countries and even continents. When we designate a corridor as significant, what exactly are we designating? The entire corridor? A series of non-contiguous conservation nodes that allow us to present the story? It is unusual for a conservation agency to have control over an entire corridor, as the Canadian Parks Service theoretically has over the Rideau Canal. Yet even here, as we have seen, our control is limited to the canal structures themselves. The rest of the corridor must be co-managed in partnership with others.

I will conclude with this thought. I have no doubts about the great importance to the world of these transportation corridors—be they trails, roads, waterways or railways. I feel confident that we are capable of evaluating their relative worth or value, as long as we have an adequate research base to carry out comparative analysis. What I believe will be most difficult are the conservation and management challenges, especially the definition of the corridor's boundaries and the development of meaningful partnerships to manage such large and disparate resources.

Christina Cameron is Director General, National Historic Sites, Parks Canada





VOLUME 16 • NO. 11 Cultural Resources Washington, DC U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service Cultural Resources P.O. Box 37127 Washington, DC 20013-7127

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE \$300

FIRST CLASS MAIL
Postage & Fees Paid
U. S. Department of the Interior
G-83